The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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VOLUME XXX *May* 12, 1939 NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

WEEKLY COMMENTS		57
NEW ERA VS. NEW DEAL (*An Editorial*)		61
PEACE AND JUSTICE (*An Editorial*)	*F. H. Drinkwater*	62
BLOCKING THE PENSION RAIDS	*Glen Perry*	63
WRITTEN BEFORE W. B. Y. SAILED FROM BYZANTIUM (*Verse*)	*James Benson*	65
SAINT OVER THE HUDSON	*Bryan M. O'Reilly*	66
THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR INDIA	*Srinivas Wagel*	68
COMMUNICATIONS		70
POINTS AND LINES *Unemployment Carries On May Day, 1939*		73
THE STAGE	*Grenville Vernon*	76
THE SCREEN	*Philip T. Hartung*	77
THE PRODUCTIVE HOME	*David A. McCabe*	77
MORE BOOKS OF THE DAY		79
THE INNER FORUM		84

THE COMMONWEAL is indexed in the *Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index* and *Catholic Bookman.*

Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York. Annual Subscriptions: U. S. and Canada: $5.00; Foreign, $6.00.

Mr. Hitler's Curious Reply

THE TECHNIQUE of Chancellor Hitler, if only because of its success, has for all of us a certain fascination. It is a technique of dispersion rather than of concentration. He cannot say anything briefly; he must always elaborate and build up his case and repeat his notions in slightly different context until, at the end, the reader or listener is confused into partial, or total consent. It is a technique which prevents effective rebuttal, for it presents such a host of seemingly separate points to be considered that a complete answer would be too tedious for any normal person to bother with. The recent Reichstag speech in answer to President Roosevelt's telegram is a splendid specimen of this technique. To the uninformed it is utterly convincing, if only because it is based upon a unified conception of history. If one wishes to understand that conception of history, one has to read "Mein Kampf," for elsewhere the historical interpretation is merely implicit, and very cleverly disguised behind a façade of admitted injustices. Hitler knows that no sane person will deny that Germany's war guilt was unjustly appraised in Allied war propaganda; that the Versailles treaty was not totally virtuous and wise; that the "democracies" have themselves been aggressors and that they have not solved their own internal problems. On the basis of this knowledge, he can describe Germany's part in the World War as a "struggle for its liberty and independence." He can excuse all of his policy of expansion on the ground that he is restoring to his country the losses she suffered as the result of an infamous treaty. He can excuse the Italian conquest of Abyssinia on the ground that nearly all the previous inhabitants of Africa "have been made subject to the sovereignty of other nations by bloody force." To admit that England and France and Russia and Austria were not without their share of guilt in the last war is certainly not to say that Germany fought in a cause of "unquestionable home defense." To grant that Versailles was bad is not to assume that a victorious Germany would have produced a better settlement. To excuse one conquest because others have occurred is to say that the existence of evil excuses sin.

Germany as Little Red Riding Hood

There is another aspect to the Reichstag speech than that of truth. What was the purpose of the speech? Three primary purposes seem to emerge. The first was to convince the German people of the righteousness of their leadership and their nation's invincible strength, a purpose further implemented by the three boastful May Day speeches that followed. The second was to reinforce what English sympathy Hitler has, by paying the Empire handsome compliments and reasserting Hitler's desire for an entente with Great Britain. The third—from our point of view the most important—was to consolidate American opposition to President Roosevelt by trying to make him seem a ridiculous and ignorant meddler. Hitler's protesting that he has not yet caused a single war is, of course, sheer effrontery. If a nation yields to an aggressor without a struggle, that in no way excuses the act of aggression. It may be that we have in the United States great domestic problems. Yet, sneer or no sneer, our wealth and power are indeed so great that "intervention and action" by our President "can be effective everywhere." The only question is whether we shall have the intelligence and sense of responsibility to use our power for the good of mankind or whether we shall dissipate them in the interests of notions or imperialisms. Notable in the speech, especially after the firing of Stalin's spearhead United Front man, Litvinoff, was the absence—in all that talk—of any mention of Russia or attack

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on the Soviets. This fits with the Krivitsky *Saturday Evening Post* articles, but has been almost completely ignored by the great press in the same strange way as the *Satevepost* articles themselves. The likelihood of a Nazi-Soviet deal finally made the New York *Times,* buried in a Warsaw dispatch from Jerzy Szapiro.

The World of Tomorrow

ON THE opening day of the New York World's Fair one of the broadcasting companies conceived the idea of interviewing visitors at random and asking them what they thought of the big show. In the space of a few minutes, two members of the public adverted to the fact that the fair occupies land on which, for many years, they had been accustomed to go rat hunting. With that aspect of Mr. Whalen's achievement no one can quarrel. It is certainly in the public interest to eliminate an eyesore, and the Flushing dumps were indeed an eyesore and worse than an eyesore. In their place we now have the promise of a handsome park. We have not the good fortune to live in San Francisco, and so we should feel it presumptuous on our part to appraise their fair. But the combined circus, Chautauqua and Coney Island which has been erected in our own backyard does prompt comment. Let it be said at once that all credit must be given to the fair administration as well as to many of the individual exhibitors for having produced a fine mess of beer and skittles for the nation to enjoy. Anyone could spend a happy week examining the wonders of science and art—not to mention incubator babies and the feminine form—which they have prepared for our delectation. The illumination at night is a genuine triumph; the use of fountains and landscaping excels anything of the sort we have ever seen.

Bigger and Better Things

In view of all this it seems ungracious to register a "but," yet in conscience one cannot help doing so. There has been a good deal of agitation in the local Catholic press on the subject of indecency in the fair. The event has shown that there was ground for concern. A number of the concessions in the amusement section are of the same general nature as those which provoked criticism at Chicago and seem always to be a feature of any fair. One cannot approve such things, although it must be said that they merely reflect temptations which are a part of life and that there is no compulsion whatever upon the visitor to have anything to do with them. There is a more serious ground for reservations. The fair represents, magnificently it is true, a whole conception of life which is not happy or, indeed, human. As one is slowly twirled around the "city of the future," contained within the walls of the perisphere, one cannot help reflecting upon the fact that no such city—or group of such cities—could produce such a phenomenon as the fair itself. For this megalopolitan venture is made possible by great concentrations of people, by that glorification of bigness and concentration and mass culture which has so ill served us. In a sense the very "theme" of the fair itself—the elimination of slums, the decentralizing of life—tends toward a future which would never find its expression in such a Big Show. In the sense that the fair is a perfect expression of a bad thing, it must be taken with reservations. But there is the consolation that its theme, at least, seems to make it a fair to end world's fairs. Let us hope that the theme is more than the sugar coating of a very noxious pill.

Fordham Pan American Conference

ALTHOUGH Mr. Roosevelt has directed some attention toward the importance of the good neighbor policy in solving Pan-American problems, most of us continue to regard our American neighbors to the south as ignorant foreigners with queer ways. Since this is the case, the recent Congress on Inter-American Affairs sponsored by the Graduate School of Fordham University is a noteworthy contribution to the knowledge and understanding of other American countries. Fordham's president, the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., described the aims of the congress as an effort "to promote world peace . . . by examining in a detached and scholarly manner an international situation which may become in time a source of friction." To the congress came speakers who are experts in economic relations, in law, in government and in the religious and cultural life of the Americas. These men presented widely differing views on highly controversial topics. We have often referred to the widespread ignorance of Latin American affairs in this country. Could there not be many more such conferences, to do something toward remedying a bad situation?

Catholicism in the Americas

Speakers emphasized one important fact which is pretty generally overlooked in North American attempts to understand South America. That fact is the important rôle which Catholicism plays in the cultural outlook of the Latin American countries. One of the speakers said that 99 percent of the people of South America are, or should be, Catholics. Every one of the Latin American republics is a Catholic country. Nearly every cultural and political movement in these countries is either for or against the Catholic Church or some aspect of Catholicism. It is hard for us to understand how important this fact is, for we live in a country where Catholicism is not and never has been a dominant force in moral concepts, in culture or in politics. Well may we pause to consider these questions which were raised at the Fordham

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conference. Is Catholicism a strong force in friendship, security and understanding among the nations of the Western Hemisphere? Is it at the same time a common interest of all these nations? Should we not do all in our power to strengthen this bond and to increase this interest in order to assure our beloved country the full benefit of the Christian spirit? The answers to such questions are more important than trade pacts.

The Export Balance and Barter

THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE has published figures which show that the United States exported $1,133,000,000 more in 1938 than it imported. This is the highest export balance in seventeen years. During the year merchandise imports fell off 36 percent while merchandise exports were falling only 8 percent. From a world-wide and long term viewpoint any appreciable balance in either direction is unfavorable. Trade can only be useful to all the people concerned, and it can only be maintained over any length of time, when approximately equal values are exchanged. In barter transactions, there is necessarily a balance with no debts hanging over. One party can exploit the pressing need of another by making too close a bargain, especially at a time such as the present when military considerations carry all before them. But if international barter were gradually regularized there might be less chance of that injury than of the financial imperialism characteristic of the old-fashioned type of international commerce and finance. Last year Americans received from abroad in interest and dividend payments the sum of $478,000,000, compared to $608,000,000 in 1937. Foreigners took from here as interest and dividends $203,000,000 in 1938 and $278,000,000 the year before.

New Means of Trade

These constitute the type of permanent charge set up when business men go to other countries to loan money and establish what must be technically colonial industries. It is economic imperialism and is bound to break down even when it does not involve grinding exploitation, since by its nature it brings the industrial and commercial revolution where it enters. Lending a lot of money to Brazil, for instance, with the idea of promoting exports from here to Brazil is a risky business. The immediate stimulus could raise the standard of living down there so that the borrowers would not mind paying the charges to our money lenders for a long while. But it would burden their country with the fixed need of sending away a portion of their national income, until, if all went well, the loans were repaid. The debtor's condition is bad enough when his creditor is a countryman who benefits him rather directly by his spending. The more trade that can be conducted without the establishment of international financial controls and charges, the better. For the less developed countries the more imports that can be paid for immediately by exports the better. And it works reciprocally with developed countries like our own.

Fort Wayne's $900 Homes

IN THE EFFORT to find solutions for America's housing problem, resort to extremes seems inevitable. One of these has been reached in Fort Wayne, Indiana, where it is reported fifty new homes have been built at a cost of only $900 apiece and rented out for only $2.50 a week. Critics of the administration have seized upon this accomplishment to confound the United States Housing Authority; journals like the *Survey Graphic* and the *Nation* are highly exercised lest such a yardstick be used to obstruct a sound national housing program. The Fort Wayne houses, or "pill boxes" or "chicken coops," as they have been dubbed by local wits, were built on borrowed land in slum areas. Prefabrication and putting together was the work of WPA labor. Capital and technical costs were not counted in. Adding everything up, USHA supporters say the cost per house would actually be $2,400. Each house has a flat roof over its three rooms and a bath; it has no basement, no attic, no ice box, no laundry facilities. These new homes are considerably below the standards of the American Public Health Association. There seems to have been little attempt to locate the new houses in areas most advantageous for the families involved or the community in general. All in all the Fort Wayne experiment sounds like anything but a model for the country at large. But it indicates a number of promising possibilities. If there are so many owners eager to loan their land in order to escape taxation, might not suitable tracts be found for low cost housing developments? It hardly seems wise to condemn prefabrication out of hand just because the Fort Wayne brand appears insubstantial. And it is said that larger homes could be built at only a slight increase in cost. Fort Wayne presents in fact some invaluable housing data.

Prefabricated Pill Boxes

Adding Vitamins and Minerals to the Diet

EGGED ON by men in white in pseudo-scientific advertisements, the cult of vitamins continues to grow. In fact, it was estimated at the sixth annual meeting of the American Institute of Nutrition just held at Toronto that the American people last year spent more than $100,000,000 for foods especially "spiked" with vitamins. Unfortunately, patented or prepared edibles of this kind are too high in price for undernourished families or those whose

Patent Medicine Technique

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living quarters or occupations deprive them of the sun and ozone they need. The hundred million was spent largely by those whose well-filled balanced diet automatically provides all the necessary ingredients. A special case is the addition of vitamin D to milk for the prevention of rickets in children who do not get enough sunlight. Professor Agnes Fay Morgan of the University of California suggested one way of meeting the national dietary problem: "To combat in the general population the perverse use of vitamin-poor foods, such as sugar, white flour, polished rice, alcoholic and soft drinks, fortification of these foods may be desirable until the slow process of education relegates the demand for them to the background." Meanwhile the publicizing of muscle and energy builders continues in media read by the well-fed. The latest "discovery" is gelatine. A full-page "ad" in the May 1st *Time* in response to the "many thousands of inquiries [that] have been pouring in" declares that on the basis of "a series of laboratory tests, conducted on human subjects," Knox Gelatine "increases muscular endurance and thus postpones fatigue." This preparation is not a stimulant; it is not fattening, and if taken according to directions, "neither disturbs digestion nor interferes with normal appetite. . . . For a true test the gelatine should be continued daily for at least one month."

Old Truths in the "New Masses"

That Outstretched Hand Again

OUR STALINIST CONTEMPORARY, the *New Masses,* has seen fit to publish in part—and without permission—in its May 2 issue a radio address on anti-Semitism given over station WNYC last December. The *New Masses* was legally free to do this, since the speech was not copyrighted—who would want to patent the saving doctrines of religion?—and was distributed gratis to all requesting it by the National Conference of Christians and Jews under whose auspices the talk was delivered. Yet it is difficult to discover the criterion whereby certain omissions were made, since some of Maritain's disparaging references to communism and to Soviet Russia were cut out while others were left in. Perhaps the manuscript simply had to be shortened to fit into the space available; the original speech itself was an excerpt from a forthcoming book on the Jewish question. In any event our attitude is best indicated by the words of *Quadragesimo Anno,* wherein the Pope refers to the fruits of *Rerum Novarum:* "We rejoice that the Catholic truths, proclaimed so vigorously by Our illustrious Predecessor, are advanced and advocated not merely in non-Catholic books and journals, but frequently also in legislative assemblies and in courts of justice." What with so many preaching anti-Semitic hate in the name of Christianity—"God is charity" (I John, iv, 8)—we do not complain at this proclamation of the truth by even such a magazine as the *New Masses,* provided its readers and our own do not receive the impression that Maritain is a collaborator of theirs in the effort to establish in some contradictory fashion the dominance of atheistic communism. The way Maritain was presented in the *New Masses,* as though he were just another ordinary contributor with his piece secured in the ordinary fashion, gives a false idea which ought to be corrected. Maritain's position toward the Jews comes from his application of Christian doctrine and Thomist philosophy, and not from considerations of Marxian dialectic or Stalinist political technique.

New Era vs. New Deal

NOTHING connected with the problem of prosperity is more widely agreed upon than that American economy needs more investment. How much more is needed to bring practically full employment is not certain. During the New Era of the 'twenties, according to estimate, practically a fifth of the national income was reinvested one way or another rather than spent outright; but more economists seem to think this ratio resulted in dangerous "overinvestment" than that any such enormous proportion is a necessity. Yet according to any school of thought, from the purest Marxian to the purest Adam Smith, we need a lot more new investment than we are getting now. In 1928, new corporate capital flotations totaled $6,079,700,000, and in 1938, only $869,700,000.

What is needed to bring a more adequate investment in durable and productive goods? Many critics believe a unitary replacement of the whole system of private enterprise by the socialism which revolutionaries advocate, or by regulated state capitalism, with regulated saving and investment and costs and profits, which fascism tries to bring. Still more believe that a government similar to our own must undertake through its various agencies some types of investment in certain fields of heavy industry, leaving to the private market the sphere of consumers' goods and their production. Some want present productive wealth distributed as widely as possible to individual persons and families so that they can increasingly and directly decide for themselves how much of the products of this property they want to consume, and how much they wish to add to their own productive wealth. However, the greatest clamor now is simply for the "reopening of the investment market." The "barriers to new investment" are being roundly attacked by institutions and associations, editorial writers and columnists. Whatever the longer range solution—or disintegration— there is danger that the nostalgic tones

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sounded by present critics of New Deal taxes and regulations will submerge the more acutely critical notes undoubtedly present in all this din. We may find ourselves out of the New Deal frying pan into the blaze of the New Era fire, whose final burst, we may remind ourselves, produced the explosion of October, 1929.

Judge Ferdinand Pecora, counsel of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency during the highly publicized investigation conducted from January, 1933, to June, 1934, has just published a book,[1] "Wall Street Under Oath," with this possibility in mind:

> The public, however, is sometimes forgetful. As its memory of the unhappy market collapse of 1929 becomes blurred, it may lend at least one ear to the persuasive voices of The Street subtly pleading for a return to the "good old times." Forgotten, perhaps, by some are the shattering revelations of the Senate Committee's investigation; forgotten the practises and ethics that The Street followed and defended when its own sway was undisputed in those good old days.

It is perhaps not altogether a gracious act to bring back to mind the information and the names that were put in the spotlight of publicity during that "witch hunt" of the reform period of the New Deal; but if we ponder again over the material then uncovered, a more comprehensively charitable purpose might well be served.

Judge Pecora's book, concerned with what is loosely called "Wall Street," although prize exhibits come from Chicago and Detroit and could certainly come from other centers too, treats something over half a dozen financial practises which characterized business during the years of the eighty billion dollar income. Preferred lists, interlocking directorates and interlocking "influence," banking with "other people's money" for power and for money, security affiliates of banks, holding companies, tax avoidance, group banking and the stock exchange itself with its manipulation are all described in the words of its big men under oath, and with the interpretation and organization of its frankly unfriendly investigator. The picture is abysmally sordid. The moral drawn by the author is that Uncle Sam must indeed post a policeman at Wall Street's corner, and a policeman who carries a billy at least, if not a gun. It is inescapable that a repetion of the Wall Street history of 1928-29 (impossible as it would be) would not be worth the eighty billion dollars.

The function theoretically performed by the gentlemen examined by the Senate Commission was twofold: they furnished bank credit for the conduct of industry; they canalized new money into business—"that important service in the supply of capital for the development of the country," as Mr. J. P. Morgan put it. The commercial banking function, the private creation of bank credit money, is not examined in this book and the question of its need or propriety must be skipped over here. Aside from that, Wall Street seems to have acted in three capacities: gambler, merchant and master, with the unity supplied by colossal and obscene money making. The effective avarice displayed by "Wall Street Under Oath" is sufficient to astonish the most lurid imagination. Deal after deal is pulled before your eyes which resulted in "gravy" (the word is Mr. Dodge's of the Chase Securities Corporation) not of tens of thousands of dollars, not even of hundreds of thousands, but of millions.

The gambling would not appear so offensive if it had been more genuine gambling. Too much of it was played with inside information; too much with other people's money; and too many of the shares sold high fell low in the hands of weaker and simpler, if not less greedy, speculators. There is an epic quality about some of the speculations reported which tends to disarm a critic. Arthur Cutten's acceptance of an option from Harry Sinclair to buy 1,130,000 new shares of Sinclair Consolidated Oil at $30 when the company's shares selling on the exchange had not reached that figure in four years was quite a gesture. And profitable to Mr. Cutten and his syndicate, as it turned out, to the sum of $12,000,000 in six months. As Mr. Wiggin (Chase Bank) said: "Well, I knew Mr. Cutten and I knew that he handled things successfully."

But at least three more serious questions arise. When are these "Wall Street" figures acting as real "merchants of securities," selling capital in productive industry to the saving public? When are they maneuvering as masters of industry for economic control of the nation? To what extent did their merchandizing methods and pressure burden real business with unnecessary sterile loads of debt and water?

A Wall Street friend will tell you that when a woman buys a decent dress at a smart shop she pays three times the cost of production. The middlemen get a cut that even Wall Street in its palmy days would have envied. There is justice in his story. Merchants of securities deserve a paying "spread" just as much as other merchants. But the rôle of merchant in finance apparently shades off into that of master. To make money, a financier controls economics. When he controls economic units, he can merchandise securities simply to make money. Holding companies such as United States and Foreign Securities, United Corporation, Alleghany Corporation and the Insull companies were, it seems from this book, multiplied with their securities first to arrange corporate control and private fortunes rather than to provide new productive resources. The summary in this book by Judge Pecora shows once

[1] Wall Street Under Oath, by Ferdinand Pecora. New York: Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

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again that rarely did production govern finance; that usually finance dominated considerations of production.

As middlemen for securities, there would be no reason to check cruelly the profits of Wall Street. If their sense of fitness led them in that capacity to take off huge sums for themselves, the country could stand it, and the sometimes delightful luxury trades and services would vulgarly flourish. The stimulus of more profits for this service might prove useful right now to the whole country. On the other hand, laws preventing the centralized dominance of Wall Street over business could hardly be too strict. The holding companies, the extravagant bribery, the non-voting stock, the control of credit, the political influence and all the rest that build up the surrealist picture of "Wall Street Under Oath" ought certainly be suppressed. The New Deal only started in that direction. Cynical critics who say that to regain really appreciable new finance and investment, Wall Street must be encouraged to regain all its old trenches, may possibly be right, but that should be tested not by putting the country back where it was at the time of the crash, but by opening the road for a new and more wholesome effort, and seeing if a more prosperous and sounder condition cannot be reached without going back to '29.

The normal place to look is to the operating company. The public attitude toward investment should be governed not primarily by consideration of Wall Street at all, but of producing industry. Producers ought to get as close to one hundred cents as possible for every dollar of securities they sell, and their securities should be as honest a thing as the money that pays for them. The people who work and operate the industry should manage it; not the people they call in for financial service. And the kind of security which industry ought to sell is a harder problem than those Judge Pecora takes up in this clear, well-organized and written —if not altogether judicially tempered—history.

Peace and Justice

The following summary of a sermon delivered in England on the Pope's Easter message—with its references to our money system and a desired conference of nations—was sent to us by Father Drinkwater, and is certainly valuable reading for an American public too. The Editors.

"PEACE BE TO YOU." With this greeting of the risen Christ, the Holy Father began his Easter morning sermon. Peace is possible for the world, because Christ has made peace between man and God. Yet there is no peace. Why?

The Pope's answer was perfectly plain: it is poverty—needless poverty—which causes war. How can there be peace, when each nation is divided within itself by class-struggle, when millions are without work, unable to earn their living or fulfill their nature, condemned to exist in wretchedness side by side with the flaunting luxury of the unregarding rich? How can there be peace in a world of that kind?

How can there be peace, the Pope asks too, when lawless violence takes the place of reason, and pledges and treaties are made only to be disregarded? Outward peace comes from something within: from acknowledging God and His rights, and doing His will, which means justice. There can be no peace without justice: and justice demands lawful authority and good laws and rights of human freedom and the fair distribution of the goods of the earth to all men.

We have to admit that the Pope's words are addressed to other rulers just as much as to the dictators. If you take the British Empire and the French Empire together, they occupy one-third of the land-surface of the earth. That would not matter if these vast resources were used for the common good of humanity; but we know only too well they are not used even for the good of our own people—they are used for the benefit of the few dictators of business and finance who have the real power in these countries.

If we Englishmen go to war as things are, it will be indeed to resist violent aggression and restore the sanctity of treaties, but also it will be to keep in world-power these very money-lords who are responsible for the condition of our own unemployed and low-wage-earners. That is the unpleasant truth. That is of what the Pope is reminding us when he says, there is no peace without justice.

What can we do? One thing. We can press for a real conference of the nations, to settle the economic causes of war. Such a conference is urged by many, but especially by one who has every right to urge it—the prime minister of one of the British Dominions, New Zealand, which is ready if need be to fight alongside the mother country. It is the one government in the world which has actually won its freedom from private finance and at the same time kept intact the democratic freedom of the ordinary citizen; so New Zealand has every right to tell the British government what to do. The same kind of conference is urged by the *Catholic Herald*.

But such a conference would be utterly useless unless our government, and the French and American governments, went into it ready to change their money systems and escape from their slavery to private finance. We must get back to justice, and to the faithful keeping of pledges and treaties; and the only hope for that—says the Pope—is in the charity of Christ, which unites men in brotherhood. So the Holy Father's sermon ended with the Easter prayer: "Pour into our hearts the spirit of Thy Love, that we who have fed upon these Easter sacraments may become Thy family all one in mind and heart." F. H. DRINKWATER.

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Blocking the Pension Raids

It looked like a cinch to add a hundred billion dollars to America's tax load until Mr. Bull got busy.

By Glen Perry

LONGEVITY seems to walk with pensioners. One pension is still being paid to the daughter of a veteran of the War of 1812, and there has never been a time in the history of this country when veterans of at least one war were not collecting from a grateful—and bulldozed—Congress. The history of pension legislation for veterans of the various wars in which the United States has engaged shows a great similarity of form. In every instance the first step, in some cases taken before the conclusion of actual hostilities, was the passage by Congress of legislation giving aid to wounded veterans and to the families of soldiers or sailors who were killed in combat.

From that primary step, which is opposed neither in principle nor in practise by any responsible person, there ensued a progression so well formed that it became possible to chart it, to predict with fair accuracy the lapse of time between the various phases. At the end, invariably, there have been pensions for every man who was on the roster of one of the armed services, as well as for widows and children of deceased veterans, whatever the nature of their service or the cause of death.

It was this inevitable progression that led the late President Coolidge to predict that the veterans of the World War and their families would, before the last of them had been erased from the rolls by death, have cost the taxpayers of the United States $100,000,000,000.

Arguments of the pension raiders

Putting it as simply as possible, proponents of unlimited pensions have three major arguments. The first is that if veterans of past wars are not taken care of, it will be impossible to get soldiers for future wars. The second is that the country owes this support to those who, in the words of the veterans' publication, *The National Tribune*, "bared their breasts" to the enemy (be it *vis-a-vis*, in the front line, or by remote control, in a training camp). The third is that the organized power of the large veterans' organizations makes it advisable for Congressmen to be careful to do as they are ordered.

Of the three arguments the third is the most cogent, while at the same time the one that is almost never mentioned. Its power is in inverse ratio to the amount of noise made about it, and the records show that under the pressure it exerts, the cost of taking care of veterans after a war has uniformly been at least twice the day-to-day cost of actually fighting the war.

Opposition to such pressure has in the past been virtually non-existent. Yet it is a fact that out of the greatest triumph yet scored on behalf of World War veterans, prepayment of the bonus, grew the force that has, for the time being at least, stalled the onward march of the mighty machine that aims at universal pensions for veterans. The story of the fight waged by the American Veterans Association against pensions is an interesting and significant account of a struggle against heavy odds, and deserves to be told.

Veterans' lobbies in action

One of the peculiarities of the republican form of government seems to be that the very people to whom legislation should be of the most importance, and whose use of their franchise is most important to the government, are most of the time filled with a lethargy and an apathy that are invincible adjuncts of abuses of power. This lack of interest is the thing that makes it possible for minority pressure groups to take what they want from the Treasury. The harassed legislator, whose chief preoccupation may lie in his chances of reelection, naturally tends to pay attention to those who show they are interested in what he is doing. It is equally natural that he should take casually the interest of a class that seems to be completely indifferent to him. When the great middle class rouses itself and speaks, Congress tumbles all over itself in responding, but it doesn't happen often.

Of all the predatory minority groups, veterans' organizations have been in the top flight ever since the Revolution. Arguing, pleading, threatening, they have not yet failed to make the post-war care of those enrolled in the armed services at least twice as expensive as the day-to-day cost of fighting the war. As a matter of fact, the *National Tribune* takes the position that these post-war costs are properly considered as costs of the war itself, and that they should be so budgeted.

These costs have been as follows:

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Revolutionary War, 1776-1783...	$70,000,000*
War of 1812, 1812-1814.....	46,216,600
Indian Wars, 1790-1898.....	76,632,510
Mexican War, 1846-1848.....	61,206,821
Civil War, 1861-1865.....	7,973,404,309
Spanish War, 1898.....	1,286,877,997
World War, 1917-1918.....	7,572,621,751**

*Revolutionary soldiers were also given 2,660,080 acres of public lands.

**To June 30, 1938.

When the World War came to a close, it was plain that veterans' demands would reach a new high, for 4,000,000 men were enrolled in the armed services. And as the above table shows, World War veterans have already, in twenty-one years, received practically as much money from the government as have Civil War veterans in three-quarters of a century. More than half of this came in prepayment of the bonus. It was in the battle over the bonus that there arose the strongest force yet developed for opposing the pressure of the large veterans' organizations. And if, as now seems possible (although by no means probable), it succeeds in turning the tide of pension demands, the bonus victory will prove to have been Pyrrhic indeed for the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

As the fight for the bonus developed, it appeared that not all veterans favored such a move. Many of this minority were members of one or both of the big service organizations, but they quit in disgust at what they regarded as an indefensible raid on the treasury. They did not stop there. They formed a group of their own, and called it the American Veterans Association. With a membership of 17,000, they made their organization the beneficiary of their bonuses, and the result was a warchest of about $150,000. With this money, the Association set out to check the march toward pensions. It took the position that widows and children of veterans who died in service, or as the result of service-connected disability, deserved everything the country could give them, and that the same thing held true of veterans with service-connected disabilities.

But they held that the veteran who suffered no ill effects from the war had no claim on the nation's treasury, that it was a duty and a privilege for a man to defend the country that gave him freedom and opportunity. The duty and privilege did not carry with them, as the A.V.A. saw it, the right to come back later, palm outstretched, asking for a cash hand-out monthly for life.

What they were trying to do was new in the United States, and the going was hard. The warchest melted away with, so far as could be seen, no results. Cost of veterans' legislation was mounting, and the Legion and the V.F.W. were firmly in the saddle. By 1937 it was plain enough that the historic march of legislative events was following the classical pattern. Pensions were just around the corner, and the A.V.A. was convinced that the federal treasury, already burdened far beyond the country's tax revenue, could not afford such an additional expense.

Getting the facts to the public

And then, as so often happens in a republic, the events produced the man. He proved to be Cornelius H. Bull, an infantry officer who served overseas, a prominent Washington lawyer, and a member of the A.V.A. National Executive Committee. A resourceful and combative Virginian, Bull suddenly caught fire. It seemed to him that the A.V.A. might as well not exist if its methods were not to be changed. He became first adjutant-general and then general counsel and set himself to the task of changing them. It meant shelving a great deal of his lucrative law practise, but this seemed a cause worthy of such a sacrifice.

Bull's idea was that the A.V.A. could wield influence only if it were clear that it represented, and had the backing of, the vast middle class. He believed that backing could be won if the middle class had the facts. To get those facts disseminated, he seized on the nation's newspapers as the medium. The result was that A.V.A. policy was thoroughly revised. On one hand, Bull waged unremitting war before the committees of Congress that had to do with veterans' affairs. As best he could, he made news. On the other, he sought to enlist, through newspapers sympathetic to economy in government, the support of the American people.

When he started, A.V.A. was taken with no seriousness whatever by its opponents. They did not even bother to attack it. The Congressional committees, while occasionally expressing resentment at A.V.A. tactics, paid no real attention. But Bull changed all that. A.V.A. is taken seriously now, and its campaign has picked up momentum so fast that it may give David and Goliath a modern-day version.

It took some time to get the machine moving, and it was not until last summer that Bull really had the situation in hand. Washington in summer is one of the hottest, most enervating places in the United States, and through June, July, August and September Bull devoted himself to writing personal letters to editors all over the country. He wrote nearly three hundred of them, outlining the situation, asking support and, mindful of the problems of editors, promising not to bother them with material unless matters arose of sufficient importance to merit it. He waited for results and became discouraged. Weeks passed with but one or two answers, and Bull feared that the editors shared the apathy of most of their readers. But with cooler weather, the situation changed. The editors of the country, north, south,

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east, west and middle, emphatically were interested, and at least three-quarters of those who received letters agreed to help.

Next the A.V.A. assembled and published a booklet giving accurate, non-partizan information, gained from official sources, regarding the cost of veterans' legislation from the Revolution to date. Pension adherents would love to challenge the figures in that book, but since they came from the government itself, and are presented without comment or bias, they cannot do it. And the book has been widely distributed. A.V.A. is convinced it has opened the eyes of many people to the cost of caring for veterans.

By the time this book was ready, the Seventy-sixth Congress had convened, and it quickly became apparent that A.V.A. had become important enough to be attacked. At the first meeting of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, Representative James E. Van Zandt, Pennsylvania Republican and former national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, sought to exclude A.V.A. from the hearings on the ground that it was not a national organization. The effort failed, and Bull launched a vicious attack on Chairman Rankin's bill making widows and children of all veterans who had served ninety days or more eligible for pensions. There followed an impressive barrage of news stories and editorials that had the effect of throwing a spotlight on the activities of the committee. The reaction was instantaneous. The opposition of 17,000 members of A.V.A. was negligible, but the opposition of millions of American citizens who were getting pretty darn tired of paying the bill was something else again.

Interviews, statements went pouring out of the A.V.A. offices in the Barr Building. Washington correspondents of the news services began dropping in at committee hearings and putting on the wire what happened there. And the upshot of the matter was that the idea of compensating widows and orphans of all veterans was put aside. That it will come back Bull doesn't doubt, but he believes that every time it can be delayed, the chances of beating it improve.

The fight still goes on

The committee finally put together an omnibus bill, and met to consider reporting it. One section provided a pension of $40 a month for veterans reaching the age of 65, provided the veteran, if single, had an income of less than $1,000 a year, or, if married, $2,500 a year. This proposal, beyond a doubt, opened the door to general pensions, if it was not in itself a general pension section. Once that section became law, amendments increasing the $40 to a higher figure and dropping the age minimum from 65 to a lower figure could be obtained with far less difficulty than passing a new bill. And since Spanish War veterans receive $60 a month, Bull was sure that a demand for parity would follow the passage of the pension section. And so the battle was renewed, and was waged with redoubled intensity. The successful fight against the first bill had strengthened A.V.A., and it turned on a spotlight of greater candlepower than before. The pressure grew so heavy that the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled American Veterans, fearing that if the omnibus bill passed it would be vetoed by the President because of the pension clauses, joined in the effort to have these "opening wedge" clauses cut out of the bill.

The effort was successful. If the omnibus bill becomes law, it will be without provisions that open pension gates. The deleted section has been incorporated in another bill, which is regarded as having a slim chance of passage, even if it gets out to the floor of the House. The situation is indeed far from being a check-mate, but it is very definitely a check.

It is a fair assumption that such a check would not have been registered but for the efforts of the A.V.A. to tell the great middle class what is happening in Washington on the veterans' front. Its publicity campaign, it is also fair to assume, had as much effect as it had, not because the stories and the editorials that grew out of them expressed the feelings and beliefs of 17,000 A.V.A. members, but because they spoke for the voters who toss organized minorities aside like chaff when they are roused.

The fight, of course, is not over. The significant thing is that it has started.

Written Before W.B.Y. Sailed from Byzantium

Poet, for whom the spring is dead,
Its music fled,
With those whose loveliness you sung
When you were young;

Who seek a Beauty and a Truth
Harder than Time's tooth,
Who permanence expect to find
In that city of the mind

Where Plato and Plotinus raised
Monuments still praised
For strength and glory ever new
And their bright Pentellic hue;

Know thou that when our risen race
Beholds Truth's face,
Then shall the sages' temples seem
Built in a dream.

JAMES BENSON.

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Saint Over the Hudson

"A little nun walked about the streets . . . saw these trolley tracks—these buildings..." Blessed Mother Cabrini brings peace to a suppliant.

By **Bryan M. O'Reilly**

MOTHER CABRINI, Blessed Frances Xavier Cabrini, who will probably be the first United States saint, has been beatified scarcely six months. Yet on a recent Sunday better than eight thousand pilgrims passed before her shrine on Washington Heights within the space of three hours. Even on weekdays the little chapel never is empty for a moment.

Recently, with twilight darkening, a suppliant made his way out of the chapel and started down toward 181st Street with a keen wind snatching at his coat. He was turning things over in his mind.

Well! That's the eighth day! I wonder?

Funny thing, I always come away with a feeling of peace—as if she had said not to worry.

To pray for nine days at the shrine of a dead nun, expecting her to help you. Believing that she will help you.

Absurd? No! After all I believe in the supernatural. Talk about it, write about it. *Y-e-s.*

But I do believe in the supernatural. I'm a Christian, I believe in Christ. With all my heart I believe in Him. Well, He rose from the dead—we know that. The Resurrection is the very core of it all. It all starts there.

So I believe in the supernatural — and in miracles.

God worked a miracle then—God made known His mind! That the doubters might see, even Thomas!

Right in the middle of the twentieth century with its street cars and its automobiles. Almost, you might say, contemporary with Charlie McCarthy. Slap in the middle of modern progress. She saw these trolley tracks and these buildings—and now she's in heaven.

I've just left her tomb and there her body lies incorruptible; I saw it.

That's a miracle. The body corrupts, we know that. But hers didn't.

God did that. She loved God and when she went to heaven He made her body resist corruption for years and caused it to be discovered just to give proof to hardened skeptics like me, foolish doubting Thomases.

Just to prove that He is; that the supernatural really is, right now, today, in New York!

Of course I believed; we all do, in theory.

But nebulously, not in terms of here and now, not in the concrete.

Well, this is concrete; there is the body incorruptible, a sign that all may know of holiness in heaven. God did that. That we might rub shoulders again with the supernatural.

Get that!

Not Roman streets, not Canterbury or Assisi hundreds of years ago, not the Holy Land. These pavements of Washington Heights.

So we pray to Mother Cabrini.

She is beatified, miracles are worked through her—what we want is not probable otherwise.

Magic?

No, not magic—faith!

And not even faith, with the evidence before you; common sense.

It is God Who delights to honor a soul that loved Him. The God of the Resurrection yesterday; the God who said, today, that body shall not corrupt. A sign in the sky!

Little Mother Cabrini is glad. She doesn't work miracles, her Creator does, our Creator.

But she is a happy instrument to draw souls back to God. That's why she wants to be known; that's why she is glad to have many at her shrine; that's why she rejoices when people seek her intercession.

So petitions are granted.

A holy minx!

A wise woman who by her fame draws you up to come and kneel before her remains under the altar, but who whispers to you then, "It is not I under the altar, it is God, on the altar—love him."

So it is futile to kneel before Mother Cabrini and pray unless you come back close to God.

That is what the saints are for!

No superstition here, but only the most rational reason.

And the nine days that custom and tradition draw from the Cenacle include a Saturday—was it by chance or by design?

And the pious hope that drew you sets you back on your intellectual heels and drives you to confession and communion—to God's sacraments.

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What was started in devotion and, to be honest, in hope of gain, ends in an intellectual assent to reality.

O Mother Cabrini!

Well, I went to confession with—it is only fair to admit it—perhaps a firmer purpose of amendment than usual. And I went to communion.

So when returning to the shrine and renewing my petition it was possible to say:

"Now Mother, it's done, that's what you wanted, so please . . ."

But the little nun, who, it pleases me to think, cannot be far away from those kneeling before what was once her body, seems to whisper, "Purge yourself further.

"You know your heart, you know your vice; can you come to ask favors of God unless you sweep clean, unless you empty your mind?"

I tried!

And here I am in the street comforted, yet, incurably rationalistic, I must try to figure it out!

Well, it's figured out. Step by step.

The devil's advocate said, "Abracadabra!"

But I said, "No, I'm a Christian."

Even the devil couldn't deny that—although he might sneer about the quality.

"And if I'm a Christian I believe in the Resurrection."

That establishes the actuality of the supernatural and the possibility of miracles.

That puts the pilgrimage and the novena on a sound rational basis.

But the devil's advocate whispers, "Rats! Who says that this nun is in heaven?"

Yet he cannot banish the evidence of the eyes which have just seen a body which, by all natural laws, should long ago have crumbled into dust.

He retreats and attempts another line of attack.

"Isn't it odd that people should flock to a creature and pray to her? And she desires crowds and fame?"

"The answer to that is in the Penny Catechism."

And, anyway, we've just been over it.

But the advocate isn't finished, he figures that he can always play hob with a rationalist—trip him up and make him ashamed of himself.

He echoes, with all the scorn at his command, "The Penny Catechism!"

"And something deeper, something of which the catechism is but the outward expression and the frame—love! Something which whispers as you kneel. Something which joins the saint and the sinner in a common union; of which the former has full vision and the latter, as yet, only a shadowy knowledge."

The tempter shrugs.

No! That goes back to the Redemption and the Resurrection; it is the faith which made the Christian and it stumps the devil and all his doubts.

No, it is all logical—the evidence is there.

But what about the petition?

That is the crux, the acid test.

Well, it was, true enough, but is it now?

That's what I started the whole business for—that's what brought me to Mother Cabrini. That's what I've been arguing to myself about. Casting up the chances!

It all adds up so far—even to a skeptic.

But will our Blessed Lord, through the intercession of His servant Mother Cabrini, grant the request?

What remains of the equation?

Disposition.

That is a matter between the soul and God, engendered here by little Mother Cabrini. It's as sound and honest as it can be—subject to human weakness.

So, like the children's story book, it should have a happy ending and we should live happily ever after!

I don't know.

There we are, the rationalist is at it again adding up all the figures.

No apology is necessary, God gave the reason and He even made it work that way.

But there's an x in the equation, the Will of God!

Faith and reason, working in harness as they should, tell me that my prayer will be granted, through Mother Cabrini, if it is God's will.

There need be no doubt about that, no indecision.

Confidence can be, and should be, absolute.

But the will of God is beyond our comprehension. Only of this may we be sure, that whatever happens will be for the best. That if a particular prayer is not granted, however urgent and pressing it may be, however disastrous its refusal may seem in human lights, it is the right answer. Because God knows.

I've figured that out.

And if all the conditions within the power of the petitioner are honestly complied with, then the pilgrimage and the novena has been answered, even if it is not answered. The miracle has been worked, even if it cannot be seen.

This, like all the rest, is the conclusion of a rationalist who believes in Christ.

Well! That's the eighth day! I wonder?

Funny thing, I always come away with a feeling of peace—as if she had said not to worry.

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The Coming Struggle for India

No longer a very profitable possession, Britain's India is becoming a headache for the tight little isle. When Hitler marches, watch India.

By **Srinivas Wagel**

THE RECENT FAST of Mahatma Gandhi could not have been better timed; it achieved the double objective of helping the moderates to retain control of the Indian National Congress, and it served notice on the Indian Princes and on the British Government itself that no more dilatory tactics will be tolerated in granting representative government to the peoples of the Indian States. This, however, is only the beginning; India is now ripe for the regular decennial blow-off. Happenstance it may be, but the end of each decade since 1899 has seen a new eruption in India. In 1899 occurred the political assassination of two British military officers, Rand and Ayerst, followed by repressive measures; bomb-throwing at British and Indian officials began in 1909, following the partition of Bengal; the British Government then started rallying the moderates, the Morley-Minto Bill for the reform of the Government of India helping to allay discontent; 1919 was famous for the Amritsar massacre—when General Dyer machine-gunned a meeting in a public square; public opinion was so inflamed that the British adopted a policy of appeasement; 1929 marked the start of civil disobedience and other spectacular resistance measures under the leadership of Gandhi; the British Government answered by passing the Government of India Act now in actual operation.

And now we are in 1939—already crowded with incidents, each sufficient to serve as a spark to set off the impending explosion in India. Not the least important of these is the march of Hitler and the tense situation in Europe. The forces leading to another Indian eruption are gathering ominously. There is danger that neither the British Indian Governor nor the congress will be able to do anything to retard it. A schism in the congress is almost directly due to the success of the Axis Powers in Europe; the left-wingers believe that in the present tension in Europe lies India's opportunity. Subas Bose, left-wing leader, and his lieutenants are from Bengal, which has been the victim of the worst features of the Government of India Act of 1935. But the majority under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, while Nationalist and anti-English, are opposed to precipitate action. Mr. Gandhi still holds that the British Indian Government is "satanic," and Jawaharlal has not changed his view that "the British flag is an insult to every Indian." But they are realists. They know that further preparation, better discipline, a greater mass education and an improved economic and military position are necessary for successful self-government. Above all, they do not want to substitute chaos for British rule. Even the worst government is preferable to anarchy. Furthermore, there are other powers prowling about and lusting for dominion, who cannot be ignored. Since isolation is an impossibility, why not keep dealing with Great Britain, so long as she continues to yield? It would be a different matter if Great Britain's attitude was that of a quarter of a century ago.

And for the British, Mahatma Gandhi is a moderating force. They are willing to yield to him; they do not want disturbance in India at a time when they must face a grave situation in Europe. Both England and Gandhi want peace; but trouble is inevitable.

Economic developments

Recent economic developments in India are bringing near the collapse of the financial and economic fabric of the British Indian government and of British trade with that country. India is starting her own manufactures, and in recent years her foreign purchases—mainly from Great Britain—have been dwindling. The recent conference of the provincial government ministers of industry settled upon a policy of industrialization as the only cure for the poverty of the land and its regeneration. The provincial governments are giving active help in starting industries which will result in decreased commerce for Britain.

From England's point-of-view it is bad enough that profits from British trade and rule in India have been reduced from nearly $1,000,000,000 annually to the current $250,000,000 a year. It is made worse by the increasing difficulty of transferring even the smaller sum to England. No wonder that Sir Thomas Ainscough, the senior British Trade Commissioner for India, is crying out against the industrialization of India. This is, indeed, a dilemma. If Indian industrialization cannot be stopped, British finance in India is dislocated; and it can be stopped only by measures

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which might in the end prove to be still more dangerous.

Like all governments at present, India has insufficient funds to meet its need; the finance minister of Bombay, Mr. Latthe, has had to propose a tax on the use of electric light. The revenues, central, provincial and local, for 1937 totaled $888,000,000; the yield of the native states was $250,000,000. While the sum may be trifling compared to American revenues, it is a terrific burden for India, where the average wages of skilled labor is under 30 cents a day.

Hindu-Mohammedan feuds

Even though religious antagonism is chronic in India, it would not have assumed the present serious proportions but for the aiding and abetting of the Mohammedans by the British. And now that policy is coming home to roost. Two hundred and thirty-nine million Hindus against 77,600,000 Mohammedans might present no trouble in normal democracies—except were the majority to misuse its power. But the British have given the Mohammedans special privileges in the form of "weightage," both in representation and in public offices, where they are in a minority, and they are the majority in only two provinces. Many Mohammedans, however, became suspicious. Men like Abdul Kalam Azad, Abdul Gaffur Khan and Ali Bahadur Khan today, and Nawab Sayyad Mahomed and Dr. Ansari in the past, have been active in the congress. But the great majority of influential Mohammedans are with the Muslim League—which was organized with the help of the British as a counterpoise to the congress.

To the great surprise of all, and the indignation of some of the orthodox Hindus, Mahatma Gandhi and the congress leaders decided to take a leaf out of British policy. When the congress governments were organized in eight out of the eleven provinces of the country, the Mohammedans obtained privileges which even the British had not dreamed of giving them. At any cost, Gandhi decided that the Mohammedans must be made to see the light—that unity is beneficial to all the people. The poorer Mohammedans became immediate converts. Such upsetting of the apple cart by congress irritated those Mohammedans who were making a good thing out of the antagonism as well as the British official diehards. Hence the riots and racial fights in Cawnpore, Rangoon and other places, which are generally started by *agents provocateurs*. The Muslim Leaguers are fighting a last-ditch fight to preserve their own power and prestige. Under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, and such extremists as Sir Mahomed Iqbal, Sir Shafat Ahmed Khan and Mr. Fazlul Haq, any *modus vivendi* with the Hindus became impossible. These men are furious because the ground was cut under their feet by the congress policy of direct appeal and action which is now uniting the people. Some of them are openly discussing secession of the provinces with Mohammedan majorities—Bengal and Punjab—to form separate states. One or two are wild enough to appeal to their co-religionists to help them reconquer India. The situation naturally worries Great Britain; she wishes now she had not helped the Muslim League. British policy in Palestine has alienated the Indian Mohammedan public just as much as it has world Jewry; and Gandhi's espousal of the Arab cause has pleased the Mohammedans. But the problem of the Hindu-Mohammedan feuds is too real to be shelved. The British authorities will have to take a definite stand without delay and inform the trouble makers that they will have no more special protection.

The federation and the Indian princes

The six hundred Native States and the princes who rule them have been the bulwark of British power and prestige in India. For a long time no liberal or anti-British movement was even possible in India, because of the loyalty of the princes. The princes have invariably thrown in their power, wealth, prestige and influence in support of British rule in India. So long as they were "loyal," the British did not care what they did in their own territories and with their own subjects—except on rare occasions. And a use was found for them in the Government of India Act; their representatives in the federated assembly were to act as counterpoises to congress and other nationalistic forces, and thus maintain their "loyalty" to the "British Crown." But the whole thing has misfired. Congress decided to interfere in the native states, and help the subjects of the princes to demand self-government. The agitation has spread like wildfire; congress parties were started in various states; the one in Travancore has given an ultimatum to the state government. There has been bloodshed in Rampur and Mysore. Some states like Cochin, Sangli, Aundh and Mayarbhang have yielded or made concessions.

Some like Jaipur, fighting the people, have taken British officials into state service—something very novel: the present Prime Minister of Jaipur is a Mr. H. J. Todd, a British political officer! Kashmir has a British Prime Minister. It is at this stage that Mahatma Gandhi's fast, in connection with the tiny state of Rajkot, took place. It dramatized the situation; every one everywhere in India—and in the world for that matter—learnt that the princes are not treating their people right. The Viceroy was asked to interfere and had to accede. The death of Gandhi from the fast would have convulsed the country. Lord Linlithgow did the only thing open to him, and followed it up with an admonition to the princes, a fortnight later, to move along with the times. The princes must, indeed, have wondered

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at this change of front on the part of the suzerain power. It is all the more painful, as the princes know in their hearts that the triumph of congress means an end to their power, prestige and wealth. And, even worse, they cannot stand on their own feet. If the British Indian government supports the princes, the whole scheme of reform would have to be thrown out of the window. If it supports the congress, it is the beginning of its own demise and, naturally, that of the princes at the same time.

Social betterment

The grinding poverty, the unconscionable death rate and the appalling illiteracy of India are too well known to need retelling; but even the most liberal Englishmen (with genuine sympathy for the Indian people) had to dismiss it as "really too bad, but nothing can be done because there is no money." But the new congress governments are findings ways and means. Adult education is being carried on on a large scale. Hitherto the greater part of funds for education came from fees from students—the central and provincial governments contributing practically nothing toward education. Now, the congress ministers are insisting on reducing the cost of the British army and diverting the savings to education and public health. The demand has been so insistent that even a British paper like the *Times of India* suggests at least a partial compliance with the suggestion.

More important than any single factor at present is the probable development of affairs in Europe. While a European war would end the agony of suspense, the uncertainties consequent upon the concerted actions of the axis powers would necessarily keep England on tenterhooks. Under any circumstance, England cannot afford to adopt an offhand manner in dealing with India. Even the moderates among congressmen would be utterly stupid and derelict in duty to their country if they did not take full advantage of the situation—despite the recent admonition of Lord Strabolgi, a labor peer, that India should work the reforms already granted and should not take advantage of the European situation. In fact, to a pointed direct question as to what India will do in case of war by a New York *Times* correspondent, Mr. Gandhi declined to give an answer. The Indian congress having decided upon complete independence (*purna swaraj*), timing and a program are the only matters for consideration. It is possible, of course, that even at this late date extremists might accept, at least for a time, full dominion status, like that of Canada or Australia —without any strings tied to it—if offered and carried out without any delay whatsoever.

But whatever happens, the world will hear more from India, and very soon.

Communications

DECENTRALIZED HOMESTEADS

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: One might have expected a Catholic movement based on private home ownership in accordance with the policy towards a wider distribution of property favored in papal encyclicals, George Weller reminds us in his article on Decentralized City Homesteads in THE COMMONWEAL of July 22, 1938.

My own observation and experience, as the father of a family, which includes growing children, dwelling in metropolitan New York, convinces me that prevalent material conditions of city life make it extremely difficult, as a practical matter, for the Catholic family to attain that degree of spiritual, moral and physical well-being that should properly characterize such family as an institution.

Aside from that fact that the modern industrial city seems to provide a fertile soil for the growth of certain organisms and ideologies that prey upon the family as a unit and an institution, there are other forces at work tending to undermine the very basis of family life. Certainly the instability of tenure that is common to tenancy in New York City is not conducive to a permanent and wholesome family life that normally flourishes in a fixed abode—"stable and permanent possession of things" is emphasized by Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical on the Condition of Labor. Nor is the prevalent no-children-wanted type of landlordism—in contrast to the ideal Christian solicitude for little children—anything but detrimental to the achievement of a real Christian concept of the family. But perhaps the least noticed and, I believe, the most sinister of all the destructive elements in the situation lies in the fact that the majority of the people who live in our large cities today are landless.

English distributists of the Catholic school, such as Belloc and Chesterton, have pointed out that a wider distribution of private property in land and personal proximity to the soil itself are the best way to counteract many of the evils that flow from conditions found in our modern industrial cities, while Leo XIII reminds us that men "learn to love the very soil which yields in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat but an abundance of the good things for themselves and those that are dear to them."

Heretofore the problem seemed, as a practical matter, to be insoluble. Happily that time is past for those who are qualified and ready, willing and able to avail themselves of the opportunity offered.

As Mr. Weller has pointed out in his article, there is already in operation under non-Catholic auspices a non-commercial and non-profit plan whereby the city family can move to a dwelling which is productive and within commuting distance of the city where the breadwinner of the family is employed. This plan, which has proved to be sound and practical in operation, contemplates that each family shall ultimately own, as private property, a sufficient amount of land to provide much of the normal food requirements of the family by the application of its

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own labor; while assuring each family sufficient space for that degree of privacy that is so essential to a decent type of family life. The plan, moreover, assures a maximum of liberty to those who participate, while requiring but a minimum of cooperation on their part. Further, since the project is of a self-liquidating and self-sustaining nature, it is well-calculated to promote self-reliance, as well as strength and individuality of character.

What is most important to me, as a Catholic who is interested in preserving the quality of the Catholic faith in my own home, is the fact that this program seems to provide a material means that is admirably suited to furnish a setting that is conducive to a high type of Catholic family life. With this thought in mind and in the expectation that other Catholics, and those in sympathy with Catholic ideals, would be interested in the formation of a group of families, along the lines indicated, and willing to apply Catholic socio-economic principles to their everyday lives, I have carefully investigated the program from various points of view and have visited tracts of land available for this purpose within convenient reach of New York City.

I should be happy to hear from, and hereby invite, others who may be interested in the matter from a Catholic point of view to communicate with me by letter in care of your magazine.

JOHN F. MCDONALD.

FIFTY-DOLLAR BABIES

San Francisco, Cal.

TO the Editors: It was not a compliment to THE COMMONWEAL that one of its former editors, in extolling the charitable services rendered by the Lewis Memorial Hospital (February 17), should have found it necessary, in a lengthy and irrelevant preamble, to misrepresent the position and presumed intractability of the American Medical Association. His understanding of the mooted aspects of the subject is no better than that of the average layman but, unlike him, he has fallen into the snare of the federal propagandists.

Unless it be granted that the American public has become so wanting in these fundamental virtues by which men have the capacity for freedom, socialized or state medicine is out of question. The answer rests on the determination of what constitutes "cooperation." With whom and under what conditions are we expected to cooperate?

First, let us understand that the manner and conditions of practise are not determined by membership in the association. It functions in the interest of equitable conditions for the generality of practitioners in the same manner as the American Bar Association through its constituent members does for the legal profession, without the equivalent of the disciplinary whip possessed by the latter—disbarment. In its stead it has only the weapon of ostracism.

What constitutes the objection of the A.M.A. to the federally endowed Washington, D. C., group? A small group of practitioners have coordinated and consolidated to serve continuously employed federal employees regularly contributing to a health service fund. On its surface such an arrangement appears both feasible and economical in the interest of all concerned. But what are its implications? Briefly, the answer is this: it is a set-up which, because the servicing personnel is arbitrarily chosen and restricted, works an injustice on the generality of practitioners in the community by monopolistically curtailing the opportunities whereby they may equitably earn their livelihood as well as by increasing disproportionately their share of the burden of the care of the less well favored—these of poorer income, the irregularly employed, the indigents. In a state wherein general health insurance does not prevail, it distorts the relations whereby the profession, as a whole, is able to service the public's health—service according to need, remuneration according to ability to pay. And this applies not only to "cooperatives" of the sort in question but to the corporate practice of medicine as well.

The medical profession, through its association, should not be made the scape-goat for the ills of a distorted industrial economy which, in no small measure, is directly due to the venality of governmental representatives.

JOHN F. QUINLAN, M.D.

INTERRACIAL FRONT

Philadelphia, Pa.

TO the Editors: In reply to the editorial in your issue of April 28, "Interracial Front," may I say that as far back as 1934 Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart featured an extra curricular lecture on Negro literature by Mrs. Jessie Foster Harris, well known writer of Negro fiction and poetry, member of the French department of the New York public school system and a holder of the highest degree for women given by the Sorbonne. Mrs. Harris is a Negro. The lecture was well attended and the reception held afterwards in the "Bishop's Parlor" was a thoroughly agreeable affair.

Three years ago I attended the Young People's Interracial Conference at the First Baptist Church as a delegate from the Catholic Evidence Guild. My companion and I were the only Catholic representatives. (Members of some of the civic group representations may have been Catholics, but they did not make themselves known as such.) At this meeting the then new program of the Methodist churches was very much under discussion. The statement was made by the Methodist group that they realized that the segregation of negroes in separate churches was definitely a step backward, but that it was necessary temporarily "for organizational reasons." Being a naturally talkative person, I had to get on my feet. I pointed out that for over 1900 years the Catholic Church has managed to keep its organization intact without resorting to the measure of legislating against any of its underprivileged groups, who are after all the ones Christ came to help the most. My statement, supported with practical examples from the American Negro situation, with special reference to Greenville, N. C., was received with enthusiastic applause, and several commendary remarks from negro members present.

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Another point brought out at that meeting by Dr. Harrison, one time head of Tuskegee Institute, now legal advisor to the Negro agitation for professional equality, was both a challenge and a warning. Dr. Harrison pointed out that by sheer force of numbers, the negro can be a decisive element in any movement in America. Negroes are *not* at present in favor of communism. (Forgive my dragging in so well-worn a bogey man!) However, the poorly educated and oppressed mass of the negroes are definitely looking for someone to help them. If communist propaganda, so well put before them and so practically carried out in temporary reforms and material assistance, is not counteracted by a sane philosophy of life augmented with still more practical reforms and material assistance, it is likely to take over the negro masses. Dr. Harris made a strong appeal to organized religion to take the lead. He, as well as the other leaders of the Negro movement present at that meeting, stressed the fact that they do not want communism.

Another strong point emphasized by these leaders, both young people and older ones, was that the negro does not at present want social equality in the sense of "Society" equality. They recognize that the Negro is a different race from the white, no better nor no worse, just different. They do not expect to be invited to social functions in white homes, any more than they would invite white people to social functions in their own homes. They want "society" equality only in so far as it applies to such functions as professional receptions, banquets, etc. This point of view is unanimous among the Negro leaders I have been privileged to meet in the past six years.

With regard to what many people consider the inevitable future intermarriage of the races, may I quote from Joseph F. Thorning in the January issue of the *Catholic World* ("Brazil: A Battleground of Nazism and Fascism"): "This [the mixture of nationalities and races in Brazil] is not an environment which invites much preaching of the doctrine of Nordic supremacy. When I spoke to Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha on this subject he declared. 'Here we know no distinction of white or black, red or yellow. The highest positions in the state are open to citizens without exception. *We are all Brazilians.*' [Italics mine.] In the best social circles of Rio de Janeiro there is no discrimination. Brazilians with dusky skins take their chairs in boxes at the Opera house; Mulattoes frequent the first-class hotels; there is no record that the Jockey Club or the Country Club ever refused membership to anyone on the score of color. Not so long ago a black man, Dr. Juliano Moreira, a psychiatric specialist acting as director of the Institute for Nervous Diseases, married a white woman. Paradoxically enough, she was of German descent. Both she and her husband were accepted everywhere; there was no comment or criticism."

This in a virtual dictatorship, while we pride ourselves on our Spirit of Democracy! And the old cry of "slavery" is no defence. There were slaves in Brazil. Is it too much to hope that eventually this *will* be a democracy where there will be neither "black or white, red or yellow. . . . We are all Americans?"

ANNA BEATRICE MURPHY.

THE GEOPOLITICIANS

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: It is a good work to expose fallacies of "Geo-politicians," and we thank Dr. Johannes Mattern for his *reductio ad absurdum* in the newly-arrived issue of THE COMMONWEAL (April 28).

But the *reductio ad absurdum* does not answer the "have-nots." There is a much more fundamental fallacy in the geo-political argument. The geo-political argument is based on a false supposition, namely that countries require raw materials for legitimate purposes.

The United States does not require rubber. Mr. Harvey Firestone or Mr. Paul Litchfield may require rubber, but the United States does not, for that reason, annex the Malay States. Mr. Harvey Firestone or Mr. Paul Litchfield get their rubber in exactly the same way, and just as easily, as any British tire manufacturer. They go to Singapore and buy their rubber honestly from the planters.

Another underlying fallacy of the geo-politician is due to failure to recognize that the word "possession" is equivocal. A colony or a province is not a "possession" of the mother-country in the sense that this typewriter is my "possession"; a colony or a province is in that sense of the word the "possession" of the inhabitant people. The colony or the province is the "possession" of the mother-country only in the sense that the mother country administers it, and is morally bound to administer it for the good of the inhabitant people, not for the good of citizens of the mother country. We fought a war in the eighteenth century to emphasize that moral obligation.

If the "haves" are putting obstacles in the way of the citizens of the "have-nots" which make it difficult for those citizens to obtain their raw materials, then the "have-nots" have a legitimate grievance. Does the new policy of Mr. Roosevelt include as its principal objective an enquiry as to whether there are any such legitimate grievances, and a removal of them, if there are? If so, why not make it clear, and why not also make it clear that the United States will be the first to remove all obstacles in the way of the citizens of "have-not" nations acquiring such raw materials as we can supply. Dare he?

W. ESDAILE BYLES.

OUR BEST FRIEND

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: The first paragraph of Mr. Sullivan's letter (COMMONWEAL, March 31) led the reader to expect a balanced criticism. Instead, there follows a hundred and thirty lines of enthusiastic praise for all things COMMONWEAL, and a sophomoric implication that all things non-COMMONWEAL are to be crushed under the heel of the omniscient crusaders of the Sullivan school. If Mr. S. makes a habit of giving a hearing to the various schools of thought which infest (and exalt) our traditional ideals he cannot have failed to notice his exact prototype in the *Daily Worker*-worshiping Stalinist, or the Old Testament Literalist, or the too-fervid reader of *Social Justice*. Each of these has his little tin god (like Mr. Sullivan). Each is eager to prove the other fellow a heretic or a blasphemer.

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Mr. S.'s reference to the "Rah-rah Franco Catholics" might have carried some weight if it had appeared in a letter whose general content marked the author as a person of cool, critical judgment. But, since there is every indication that he is deficient in this virtue, it is no difficult problem to simply smile at such simplicity. The Marxist champions of Loyalist Spain who fought the war on Columbus Circle last year used the same derisive and condescending phrase. However, there is some room for gratitude to Mr. S. in that he refrained from using the odoriferous term, "baby killer."

Not caring to speak in the authoritative manner of Mr. S., may I suggest that THE COMMONWEAL's editors showed a surprising lack of judgment and good taste in printing his letter? A line or two is enough for readers' eulogies which journalistic ethics prohibit the editors themselves from writing. In view of the fact that THE COMMONWEAL has printed so very little on such controversial topics as the Spanish conflict and Father Coughlin, it seems excessive to give a column and a half of space to a letter which treats them in a wholly subjective fashion, composed solely of two extremely distasteful elements—adulation and condemnation. JOHN M. MURRAY.

A LITTLE KNOWLEDGE

Wahpeton, N. D.

TO the Editors: Your issue of April 7 pleases me greatly as it comes remarkably close to ideal performance. . . .

Dr. James J. Walsh has a necessary rebuke for G. G. Coulton's "Medieval Panorama"—a book widely advertised as giving a vivid and accurate picture of the middle ages. About twenty years ago I had occasion to refer to Dr. Coulton's *Salimbene,* soon losing interest in that book as authoritative, because the material it contained was so obviously selected and edited in biased fashion. For a person who is in all probability unconscious of harboring prejudice, Dr. Coulton is sadly overstocked with that quality. He should not be accused of doing it with deliberate purpose; yet he would seem to have made a life-long study of the middle ages for the sake of defaming them. I have often wished that a competent critic would take time to reveal this ponderous historian for the special pleader that he is. Professor E. K. Rand once described, in a speech that deserves reprinting, Dr. Coulton's uncritical and therefore unhistorical handling of facts. But it takes more than one shot to puncture so tough a balloon.

Dr. Coulton's case of "Froude's disease" seems incurable; we rather hope than believe that he will in this life stop seeing the middle ages with eyes of prejudiced malevolence. What bothers me especially is to find his latest book published and elaborately advertised by a famous and generally excellent publishing house. These publishers have sponsored enough genuine history to be able to recognize at sight an uncritical historian, whose claim to greatness in scholarship rests only on vast accumulations of facts plus skilful rhetoric. The third and most necessary requisite to his profession, keen and affectionate perception of truth—that he has not.

F. H. MCMAHON.

Points & Lines

Unemployment Carries On

AFTER TEN YEARS, statesmen in Washington are gradually beginning to plan and act as though the relief problem is not a temporary one. An article by Louis Stark in the New York *Times* gives some of the unhappy statistics:

> Despite seasonal gains in employment in recent months as recorded by the Department of Labor, the American Federation of Labor estimates total unemployment at 11,200,000, and the National Industrial Conference Board places it at 10,760,000. . . .
>
> The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that there were nearly 33,000,000 persons employed in non-agricultural industries in March, 1939, about 360,000 above the estimate of March, 1938, and nearly 6,750,000 above the March, 1933, estimate, which was the low point of the depression. However, the March, 1939, estimate was about 4,250,000 below the 1929 peak in spite of the fact that in the last ten years some 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 have been added to the potential working population. . . .
>
> While the number of jobs has been decreasing, production has been increasing because of the rapid introduction of new machines and devices, greater efficiency in manufacture and improved methods of handling goods. Production per man-hour expanded almost 25 percent between 1929 and 1938, and the output of goods per person has continued to increase despite a 20 percent reduction in working hours between 1929 and 1936.

Before President Roosevelt published his reorganization order, which Congress can block only in the same difficult way it can over-ride a veto, Senator Byrnes's bill for setting up a permanent relief organization seemed likely to pass. This would have created a federal agency which would have absorbed the PWA, the CCC, the National Youth Administration, the Bureau of Public Roads, the construction work of the Treasury and the WPA. A local contribution of 33 1/3 percent would be required for all undertakings of this agency. Furthermore, according to the New York *Times:*

> Allocations to states would be determined half on the population ratio of the state and half on its unemployment ratio to the totals for the whole country. The prevailing minimum wage would be required for work on contract—that is, on the old PWA basis. For work such as the WPA now administers the rate of pay would be computed on the basis of the total annual compensation for similar work in that locality—that is, if the average man worked thirty-six weeks a year at $20 a week that total of $720 would be divided by fifty-two to reach a weekly relief wage of about $14. The bill stipulates that the work week shall be not less than thirty hours nor more than the maximum set in the Wages and Hours Law.

As presented by Senator Byrnes, the bill met opposition as being a tool for economy at the expense of the poor and unemployed. The *Labor Leader,* organ of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, wrote:

> Mayor La Guardia last week joined the wave of protest against the Byrnes relief bill. The Mayor's complaints, made in a letter to Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, author of the bill, came after national, civic, social and

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labor organizations, including the ACTU, had swamped Congress with their messages urging the bill be amended or killed. . . .

The alleged purpose of the measure to centralize existing federal relief agencies has met with little criticism. The main fire has been directed against the financing provisions under which the share of work relief costs to be paid by the city and state would be increased from the present figure averaging 17 percent to a minimum of 33⅓ percent. . . .

While the bill would mean the loss of many thousands of jobs throughout the nation, the white collar and arts projects would be most seriously affected. . . . Not only would these thousands lose their jobs, but they would be thrown on the home relief rolls to become an added expense on an already heavily taxed city relief budget. In addition, the city would lose the services of the Federal Theatre, Writers, Art and Education projects which have brought sorely needed entertainment and education to New York's poor, who are ordinarily deprived of such advantages by prohibitive prices.

The *New Republic* states:

So far, too much of the say about the fate of the WPA has been entrusted to Senator Bynes of South Carolina. He has shown every intention of improving the "jobs for all" policy by doing away with it. . . . Senator Bynes has tried to kill work relief by replacing it with a thinly disguised dole. He has tried to end the WPA educational, recreational and arts projects by quiet omission, hoping apparently that nobody would notice. The President's relief proposals are certainly an improvement over this, and we hope that Congress can forget the next election long enough to discuss them intelligently. Already they have produced one praiseworthy effect, by causing Senator Byrnes to withdraw his bill.

Before going on to the President's recommendations, several quotations from a radio address of Senator Byrnes, reprinted in *Vital Speeches,* might be given:

Unemployment is a national problem. Because it is the primary duty of the federal government to provide jobs for the unemployed, we cannot shirk our responsibility and it is not necessary for us to try to evade or avoid it. . . . Much of the sentiment in favor of administration by local governments is due to the mistaken impression that the persons eligible for jobs are selected by federal officials. The fact is that the persons holding WPA jobs are certified by local agencies. . . . But the states have a sufficiently difficult problem in administering relief to unemployables without undertaking to administer work program funds, two-thirds or three-fourths of which would come from the federal government. . . . The fact is no one ever heard of Repubicans urging that states administer federal funds for a work program until last November when as a result of a temporary lapse in the political thinking of the people they happened to elect a number of Republican governors. . . . All the people realize they furnish through taxation the funds of state governments, while many of the people apparently believe that federal funds come either from big business or from a Christmas tree. Many state officials will fight to balance the budget of the state government but will fight with even greater vigor to unbalance the budget of the United States overnment.

The President's reorganization order placed in a new Federal Works Agency: the WPA and PWA, both now independent; the Bureau of Public Roads (now in the Department of Agriculture, the public buildings branch of the Treasury's Procurement Division; most of the buildings branch of the National Park Service which is in the Interior Department; and the U. S. Housing Authority, now in the Interior Department. This corresponds roughly with the Byrnes administrative set-up.

The following day the President issued his relief budget request for next year (July, 1939, through June, 1940). The New York *Herald Tribune* reported:

President Roosevelt asked Congress today to appropriate $1,723,000,000 to finance federal relief requirements for the next fiscal year on the same basis as now administered.

Of the amount, $1,477,000,000 was recommended for the Works Progress Administration for an average of 2,000,000 unemployed, or 1,000,000 fewer than enrolled during the current fiscal year; $123,000,000 for an expanded National Youth Administration, and $123,000,000 for the rural relief activities of the Farm Security Administration. The work relief fund, the President said, was one-third less than the appropriation for the current year.

In addition, the President asked for enough funds for the administration of the relief program for the fiscal year of 1939-'40 to increase the amount to $1,750,000,000.

Business Week reviewed the situation on April 29:

Establishment of a Federal Works Agency coordinating the Works Progress Administration, the Public Works Administration and other construction agencies under one head blocks the attempt of WPA's foes to turn administration of federal funds back to the states, which would chop hundreds of thousands of unemployed families off the rolls. . . .

Relief reorganization doesn't bar Congress from taking control of the purse-strings, however, either as to amount or distribution of funds. Senator Byrnes will push his proposal for apportionment of work relief and public works money by a formula calculated on the basis of population and unemployment. . . .

Out of every dollar appropriated for WPA by Congress, $.86 has gone into wages, $.11 for materials, $.03 for administration. The economizers argue that if relief is brought closer to the people, there is bound to be less waste. . . .

City officials who speak their mind frankly admit that state administration would bring back inadequate standards, while distribution among the states of federal funds for relief according to a mathematical formula such as proposed by the Byrnes bill would soon bring mayors to Washington yelling: "Here's a new emergency, we must have more money." . . .

Congress will probably go further than the President's reorganization plan, which provides merely for better administrative functioning, by writing no more blank checks for relief. Adoption of a statutory formula for the apportionment of relief and public works funds among the states is practically certain, although the formula proposed by Senator Byrnes of South Carolina would "rehabilitate" the South at the expense of the rest of the country.

Conservative "economizers" in general appear to want relief by grants-in-aid to the states, a radical reorganization toward the dole away from work relief. On the other side, progressives, "pump-primers" and such like fear all cuts in relief and believe a federal administration with its more powerful taxing powers best assures a system of genuine work relief at wage rates which do not pauperize the unemployed nor threaten the scales of the employed. The New York *Times,* so "liberal" on some issues, repeatedly voices the conservative approach to relief:

In his message on relief needs in the coming fiscal year the President insists on the continuance of the relief system in its present form. He rejects even the minor modifications in that system recently recommended by the Senate committee and he rejects the most promising proposal for relief reform that has emerged from experience and long discussion. That is the proposal that the administration of relief be turned back to the states and localities, and that relief be financed, like the present assistance programs

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under the Social Security Act, by a system of federal grants-in-aid to the states with certain matching requirements. . . .

WPA appropriations for the current fiscal year have totaled about $2,250,000,000. For the new fiscal year beginning July 1, the President asks for $1,477,000,000. This appropriation seems comparatively moderate. But it is based on the assumption that WPA employment will have to be provided for only slightly more than an average of 2,000,000 persons during the twelve months. As WPA rolls in the current fiscal year will average 3,000,000 persons, and are now at 2,800,000, and as the President proposes no essential change either in WPA methods or in the administration's general economic policies, this estimate seems unduly optimistic. Under the present system, further demands for deficiency appropriations would be likely.

What is needed now is a fundamental reform in the relief system itself. Let us hope that Congress will move courageously ahead with such a reform.

May Day, 1939

THE COMMONWEAL for May 13, 1938, in this department gave a summary of May Day events; here is a parallel for 1939. Last year's celebration in Moscow was the occasion for a violent attack upon the "democracies" for their failure to check "international brigandage" in China, Austria, Spain. This year the speechifying, by Defense Commissar Klimenti E. Voroshilov, was along different lines. The *Daily Worker* quotes the following:

> The insolence and insanity of the fascist war-mongers are balanced by the Soviet Union's utter tranquillity, which is based upon the moral and political unity of Soviet society, on the unity of goal and unity of action of all the peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R., which has entered the radiant path of transition to communism.
>
> We are certain of our fate. Should uninvited guests appear they will be destroyed. No provocation of any kind will divert the Soviet Union from the path of preserving and defending peace, and the country of socialism is prepared for a big war.

An A.P. dispatch (quoted from the New York *Herald Tribune*) gives also an order of the day issued by Voroshilov:

> The whole war machine of capitalist countries is running at full speed: militarization of industry, speedy mobilization, feverish movement of troops, millions of men under arms, masses dragged toward the abyss of bloody turmoil and ruin. The unbridled fascist military aggressors, intoxicated with easy victory, do not hesitate to threaten weak and frightened countries.
>
> Only the Soviet Union is watching calmly what goes on beyond its borders. The international situation is extremely complicated and unstable. This imposes special responsible tasks upon us—chiefs, commanders, commissars and red fighters. If the enemy dares to lift his armed hand against our peace-loving people, he will be ruthlessly destroyed on his own territory.

This year's army demonstration in Red Square involved about 50,000 (15,000 according to Walter Duranty) troops and 600 airplanes, of which 360 were bombers—perhaps intended to give point to the last sentence of Voroshilov's order of the day. According to most news sources the number of participants was about 1,000,000 (the same as last year), but the *Daily Worker's* (and Walter Duranty's) figure was 1,5000,000, as compared with last year's *Daily Worker* figure of 2,000,000. The total population of Moscow is 3,600,000.

Hitler's May Day was bigger and better than last year's. He made three speeches instead of two. Early in the morning he addressed 100,000 youth at the Olympic Stadium (50,000 less than last year). At noon he addressed a large meeting of workers beneath the maypole (175 feet high this year as against 131 last year) in the Lustgarten. In the afternoon he spoke before 141 winners of the "efficiency contests of German enterprises." The participants in the celebration numbered 1,500,000—half a million more than last year. The temper of Hitler's speeches this year was hortatory rather than, as last year, self-congratulatory. Here are a few sentences from A.P. dispatches and from the New York *Times:*

> [*Concerning the U. S. "boycott"*] I believe that it would have been more rational to import German commodities rather than the most inferior German subjects. We can be only happy to get rid of them and are content to leave it to others to get on with them. We shall see to it that they do not threaten us, and I have made every provision in advance for such a contingency.
>
> [*The need for unity*] Without unity we cannot solve our national problems. We are sworn to each other for success or failure. If anyone ever doubted this, he must recognize it now in the attitude of the rest of the world toward us. Are not the same old encirclement politicians at work again?
>
> [*Geopolitics*] The first principle of a nation is that its life depends on its living space. The greater the problem the greater must be the efforts toward its solution. We can solve our problems only if we unitedly pursue these efforts. . . . We have learned to procure most of our vital needs by increased production. We have, however, also the problem of our living space, which is vital to the victory or defeat of a nation.

It is to be noted that Hitler, according to all reports, did not speak of colonies, but rather of "space to live in." This is in line with the primary ideas of "Mein Kampf," which stresses the need for land contiguous to Germany which can contain future—or crowded—Germans; colonies are regarded more as a desirable luxury.

Last year in France there was the usual large demonstration on May Day, the estimate of the *Daily Worker* being 1,000,000. This year the press reports no May Day meetings whatever, although an A.P. dispatch from Paris, dated April 30, has this to say (quoted from the New York *Times*):

> Labor union members in the Paris region celebrated May Day today with parades and public meetings, and without calling for the usual May 1 cessation of work tomorrow. The Sunday observance resulted from an order by the General Confederation of Labor April 6 canceling the annual twenty-four-hour May 1 lay-off.
>
> Speakers at mass meetings of union members in the Bois de Vincennes assailed Finance Minister Paul Reynaud's new decree laws increasing taxation and lengthening working hours.
>
> Large squads of police guarded the workers' parade to the meeting ground and prohibited display of signs opposing the government's financial and defense measures. Placards called for increased union oranization and lower living costs.
>
> Similar celebrations were held in other parts of France.

Last year's London demonstration was called "Spain Day," and the *Daily Worker* estimated that 200,000 people participated. This year we hear of no May Day observance in England, not even from the *Daily Worker*.

Outside of New York, larger parades were held in a number of American cities. The following table is based

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on the *Daily Worker,* the Philadelphia *Record* and other sources. Figures in parentheses give the numbers in last year's parade, if any was recorded.

CITY	NUMBERS	THEME
Cleveland	Not given	*Stop Hitler*
Chicago	70,000 (50,000)	*Trade Union Unity and the New Deal*
Philadelphia	35,000 (police estimate, 5,000)	*Stop Hitler* (with effigies)

The parade in New York seems to have been about as large as usual. Here are various estimates of its size:

Daily Worker—200,000 (500,000 spectators cheering wildly).
World-Telegram—20,000. (Copies of "Mein Kampf" for sale.)
Post—250,000. (No Mooney, lots of Billings placards.)
Herald Tribune—40,000. ("They just had fewer paraders than they figured on.")
Times—40,000 up (count at 23rd Street—42,000).

Last year's West Side Chamber of Commerce count gave 46,453; the *Daily Worker* claimed 200,000 participants; the New York *Times,* 50,000.

Latin America seems to have had a fairly gay time of it. The daughter of John Lewis greeted Chilean labor in Santiago, where 45,000 are reported to have been in the parade (U.P.). The Socialist party in Buenos Aires staged a parade. Messrs. Federico Laredo Bru and Fulgencio Batista reviewed 25,000 marchers in Havana. But the best fun of all was in Mexico City, where Vincente Lombardo Toledano staged a parade of 70,000 of the C.T.M. (Confederation of Mexican Labor). The following is part of a description by Raymond Daniell in the New York *Times:*

> Political enemies of Senor Lombardo who yesterday staged a small demonstration against his leadership—a demonstration that resulted in half a dozen casualties—were nowhere in evidence today. The only disorder was caused by C.T.M. marchers themselves. One unit passed the offices of a German electric company known as A.E.G., on a street leading into the square, stoned the windows and shouted, "Down with Hitler!"
>
> A swastika flag flying in front of the building was wrenched from the staff, torn to bits and trampled in the street while marchers cheered. Many non-uniformed units carried banners and placards denouncing Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and Emperor Hirohito of Japan. Others carried placards commemorating the anniversary of the Haymarket massacre in Chicago.
>
> At least 50,000 of the marchers were in uniform of olive drab, field grey or forest green, with trench caps to match. A few units of the C.T.M. militia, which is organized not only into companies but into battalions, regiments and brigades, shouldered sticks the size of baseball bats in place of rifles.
>
> Marching at the head of each battalion with a labor militia major and his staff was an army officer, a red brassard around his olive drab uniform, marking him as one of the instructors detailed to transform Mexico's labor movement into the country's first real trained reserve. Bringing up the rear of each company came stretcher-bearers, and at the end of each of the seven brigades, uniformed and drilled, was a C.T.M. ambulance. Scattered among the militarized units of workers were the women's auxiliaries, in uniforms.

It would seem that in France and England and even a little in the United States the fear of war is reducing the agitation of working class parties as well as popular interest in them.

The Stage & Screen

The Mother

WHATEVER we may think of Karel Capek's last play as a play it is certainly symbolic. Written by Czechoslovakia's leading dramatist just before his death and only a few months before Hitler swallowed his country, it expresses the dramatist's horror of war and yet his belief that even war is preferable to oppression. It tells the story of a mother, whose husband and eldest son have died before the play opens, the father in battle, the son fighting yellow-fever. They both return to her as ghosts and don't understand her horror of the spirit which took them from her, the father believing that his duty left him nothing else to do, the son that his duty was equally plain. During the action of the play the mother loses another son when he attempts to break an airplane altitude record, and two more sons fighting, one as a communist, the other as a fascist. Their ghosts also return to her and she argues with them that their deaths were unnecessary. Yet when the country is invaded, she sends her last son out to fight the invaders. The play is written with considerable eloquence, and there are moments of true poignancy, especially the last scene; but the hatred of the mother for war, a hatred perfectly justified, is mixed up with her hatred of other things which are not equally ignoble. One may sympathize with her dislike of the spirit which made her son attempt the airplane record, but the son who died fighting yellow-fever certainly died in a noble cause, which has no possible connection with war or any of its works. At this moment the mother only expresses the very human yet animal desire to keep alive her offspring, no matter what the cost. The chief theatrical weakness of the play is the repetition in the conversations with the various ghosts, a repetition which gives the action a certain monotony.

The acting is admirable, and that of Mme. Nazimova, as the mother, extraordinary. There are few living actresses who have such control over their bodies as Nazimova possesses. She can express more by a single movement than most stars can express in ten minutes of playing. Moreover, her body is splendidly controlled by her brain. Her Mother has pathos, passion, intelligence. It is a memorable performance. Excellent too are Reginald Bach as the father, and Alan Brixey, Carl Norval, Stephen Ker Appelby, Tom Palmer and Montgomery Clift as the sons. A special word of praise should be said for Lester Polakov's setting. (At the Lyceum Theatre.)

The Pius X Choir

THE CHOIR of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music gave one of the most interesting concerts of its history last week at Town Hall. This choir is unique among all American musical organizations and gives something at its concerts which is unforgettable. The purity and loftiness of spirit is only matched by the extraordinary nobility and accuracy of its singing. Under the direction

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of Mary Saunders it gave Gregorian music as well as works by later composers. Among the most interesting selections were a Catalan folksong and a hymn of Saint Adalbert, which is believed to have been written about the year 995. In a world wracked by pain and in terror of war the concert was like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. (At the Town Hall.) GRENVILLE VERNON.

Habsburg in Mexico

"JUAREZ" neither venerates this Mexican president who freed his people from the schemes of European monarchies, as Mr. Randall Pond guessed it would in a recent article in THE COMMONWEAL, nor does it tell the complete story about the man who enacted anticlerical laws and confiscated church lands. In the picture, he stands more as a symbol of democracy defending his constitution and people than as a real man with personal ambitions. Paul Muni makes Juarez a stolid, emotionless, cunning Indian whose severity relaxes only in adoration of Abraham Lincoln and in the final scene when he asks forgiveness of the dead Maximilian. The hero of Warner Brothers' film turns out to be Maximilian von Habsburg. Brian Aherne portrays the deceived emperor with regal nobility; he endows him with virtue, honor and courage; he is indeed the blonde god whom the Mexicans were ready to worship.

Cinematically, "Juarez" is a picture of great splendor, but it is not without flaws. William Dieterle has directed some magnificent scenes, such as the arrival of Maximilian and Carlota in Mexico, the ceremony of adoption of little Augustin Iturbide, which for pomp and dignity makes last year's "Marie Antoinette" look like a pale imitation, and the moving scene in which Juarez boldly confronts the traitor Uradi. In between these highlights are countless political orations which, though interesting and vital in themselves, make the picture static. Napoleon (overacted by Claude Rains) lectures on dictatorship. Juarez coldly lectures on democracy. Maximilian explains the advantages of a monarchy, and Mr. Dieterle, although on the side of victorious democracy, justly allows the emperor to present his story. It is not the duped Habsburg who is the villain, but the conniving dictator, Louis Napoleon. Mr. Dieterle's concern for the ill-fated Maximilian steals his picture's perspective. However, "Juarez" is for adults who are interested in historical drama and its modern parallel, adults who can appreciate the perfection of Bette Davis's performance when Carlota prays to the Virgin, and who later rages against Napoleon and goes mad.

Dr. Lew Ayres is still serving his interneship the hard way under the guidance of gruff Dr. Lionel Barrymore. "Calling Dr. Kildare," number two in this series, has the same pleasant homey touches of the first Kildare movie and the same cast plus Laraine Day and Lana Turner. The characters are busy thwarting each other to keep the plot a-going, while Lew learns about life and Dr. Barrymore storms from his wheelchair about man's right to health and the inadequacy of doctors. Lew should be a good doctor one of these days. . . . "The Lady's from Kentucky" is full of horses, racing, betting and indifferent acting by George Raft and Ellen Drew. The hero-horse wins, and Zasu Pitts is fun. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

The Productive Home

By DAVID A. McCABE

AS ONE WHO has much sympathy with the desire for decentralization, I have found this book[1] a bit disappointing. Perhaps I expected too much. I must have been hexed by some of those "economic romanticists" of whom the author speaks, who look upon the present economic set-up "as representing a fall from a previously better condition of society," for I have often turned a wistful, and doubtless somewhat unscientific, eye back toward the days of a simpler, if not more wholesome, economic structure. At any rate I have had no unfriendly bias toward such evidence as the agrarian-distributists and their "fellow travelers" have to offer for the economic feasibility of their proposals. And having heard something of Mr. Borsodi's practical work in home building and in household production, I was prepared to be heartened and nourished by this volume.

Frankly, I did not get much help from it. The fault may be mine. It may be that, as the publisher's circular states, "this book gives practical information on *how* to take refuge from crowded and oppressing urban living and establish yourself on the land." But having read the book I do not yet see *how* the mass of men are to do it. Some may be able to discover from this book how to become economically independent through home ownership and domestic production, but I did not gather from it just how the general run of urban employees are to attain prosperity and security by establishing themselves on the land. It is not clear to me how they are to be sure that home-ownership and domestic production for their own use will give them either an adequate living or assurance of enough supplementary income from the sale of their labor to be really secure. Mr. Borsodi shows abundantly that the present system does not give security and prosperity. Nor do I question his conclusion that collectivism will not give it. But that does not prove that Mr. Borsodi's plan will.

I think Mr. Borsodi is rather rough on economists. I grant a subjective barrier to impartiality in my judgment on this point. But I did grow a little weary of the constant repetition of the assertion that economists are ignorant, astigmatic folk, fallacy-mongers leading the people astray. I am willing to concede that for some economists, of course, but not for all. For example, by no means all economists are to be found genuflecting "before the altar of mere bigness," awed out of all scientific scepticism by the magic phrase, "economies of large-scale production," any more than they are willing to accept without question the assertions of advertisers, whether these be purveyors of packaged foods or publishers of books. Most economists, I hope, are willing to base their judgment on the economy of making, as compared with buying, this or that on the evidence in the particular case and do not, like the author, start with the assumption that "the bulk of the goods and services people need and desire can be made more eco-

[1] Prosperity and Security, by Ralph Borsodi. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. $4.00.

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nomically (quality, time and money considered) at home than they can be bought." There can be no quarrel with this statement as a thesis; but there is not sufficient evidence offered in this book to establish it as a fact.

The author apparently believes that Adam Smith is responsible in large measure for a presumption that it will cost more to make a thing at home than to buy it and he ascribes to Smith an assumption that "the division of labor and the use of power and machinery, the development of transportation and the factory system, make it advisable to make fewer and fewer things at home." But it must be remembered that when Smith wrote *The Wealth of Nations* (published in 1776) he was apparently unaware of the oncoming of "the use of power and machinery" which is commonly associated with the Industrial Revolution. The division of labor was still, to him, the most important factor affecting production in manufactures. In speaking of the manufacture of cloth, for example, Smith says "the division of labour is the same now as it was a century ago, and the machinery employed is not very different."

Mr. Borsodi is right in stating that in most economic texts there has been a concentration on exchange, with little attention to production for the consumption of the producer's family. The emphasis on what is called "price economics" has been deplored even by some economists. Yet, I recall many pages in economic texts devoted to "Crusoe economics" with intent to clarify the operation of fundamental economic forces by isolating them not only from the phenomena of price but also from the possibility of exchange. And I should be surprised to find that most economists today would, as the author implies, exclude production for use and not for sale from the sphere of economics. They may not give it the importance it deserves—and thereby indirectly contribute to unwise neglect of it—because of the difficulty of measuring it, but they probably would not say it has no place in economics.

Mr. Borsodi's attempts to measure the importance of home production, be it noted, include resort to the standards of price economics. He even indicates how these terms may be applied to the "services" rendered by the women of the nation in "giving birth to and rearing for one year" some 2,000,000 infants. "On this basis of valuation," he states, "the women of America produced (in 1929) $606,977,700 worth of human live stock in addition to the value of what they produced during the time they devoted themselves to other, more conventional, economic activities." However, he refrains from including this figure in his total estimate of the value of home production. He then goes on to give "passing consideration . . . in this appraisal of the economic value of the services which are produced at home" to the "favors" rendered by wives to their husbands. Although he has "not attempted to place a monetary evaluation upon this service" he states that "there is no doubt that in measuring the economic values created by family life, the economy with which this service is rendered by married women (as contrasted with purchase of it outside) must be recognized." May there not be something to be said for the "astigmatism" of economists?

One may properly object in this day to the statement that "orthodox economists claim" that the payments made for rent, interest and profits "are all legitimate." The author leaves himself an out, to be sure, through that word "orthodox" but one suspects an implication that it covers all those who are recognized by economists in general as in good standing. If joining in the "claim" stated above is the test of orthodoxy in economics there are many economists outside the true fold. I venture to say that most economists would agree with Mr. Borsodi's statement (even before he made it): "To whatever extent they represent payments to landlords, to capitalists and to business enterprises for actual contributions to production, they are legitimate; but to the extent to which the legitimate share to which they are entitled is expanded by means of special privileges, they represent exploitation and predation." Some would hold, too, that this leaves room for the making of large profits legitimately, through unusual contributions in increasing the production of goods or services, and would therefore question the author's earlier statement that "only by side-stepping in some way the regulatory effect of competition can large profits be made in legitimate business enterprises."

Mr. Borsodi's terminology seems to me confusing rather than helpful in places. For example, he refers to "government ownership of private property, as it is now being tried out in Russia." I do not see what is gained by breaking down the old distinction between "government ownership" and "private property." And going beyond the issue of mere accuracy in terminology, I wish something could be done to save the word "charity." It is too good a word to be reduced to a synonym for material relief. The "bread of charity" is never "bitter," as the author characterizes it, if it *is* the bread of charity. No gift that is really charitable can be "impersonal." What notion of "charity" is the reader to gather from this statement? "But the acceptance of charity, as a matter of right, has never and probably will never cease to undermine the characters of the beneficiaries as well as the donors and dispensers of charity." Along with this goes an implication that "the traditional Catholic attitude toward the problem" is that "almsgiving" alone—as contrasted with the Calvinist approach, which is concerned with the "character and needs of the unfortunate"—establishes the "charity of the giver."

Some of the author's statements as to the nature of economics are puzzling. He says: "Economics should not be a branch of the science of society; it should be a branch of the science of man because it deals directly with man and only indirectly with that which is only a manifestation of man—society." He is aware of what he calls the "Papal conception" that "man is called by nature to live in society"; he quotes it from Saint Thomas. Yet he holds that because consumption is "an individual process" and much production is domestic, economic activity is not to be considered social. "I cannot escape concluding (he says) that what the individual consumes and enjoys—this ultimate end of all economic activity—is an individual and not a social process. When economists ignore this fact, they devote themselves to an inquiry as

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unrealistic as the proverbial discussion of the scholastics of the Middle Ages about the number of angels which might dance upon the point of a needle."

The constructive part of the book is the last chapter. It is there we find the recipe for "prosperity and security." One may grant that "in a free society composed of people who still retain aspirations for freedom, the effective ownership of productive property is the most certain device which can give this assurance of security to the individual person and the individual family." Leo XIII put it much better half a century ago. But Mr. Borsodi does not tell us specifically *how* we are to establish an economic pattern of individual or family ownership of property which will give the individuals or families "the opportunity to produce what they need" and support our population. He repeats the well-known charge that the law and the tax system favor the large-scale producer. "The survival of most of our big-scale industries today is entirely dependent upon a continuance of the various political, economic, social and technical favors of which they are the beneficiaries." The emphasis down to the end is critical—and with much of the criticism many of us will agree, as we did when the same criticisms were made by Penty and Chesterton—rather than specifically constructive. "Only when we abandon the habit of depreciating everything that is individual and small and of overpraising everything which is collective and big, will men begin to build such a measure of prosperity and security as is possible in the real world peopled with such human beings as exist in it." This is a good summary of the author's position, but it is not a very definite program of social reconstruction.

More Books of the Day

Poets, Painters and a Novelist

To Make a Poet Black, by J. S. Redding. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. $1.50.

THERE is more than a slight probability that future literary archeologists will refer to this book as a landmark of Negro literature. Not that it is even remotely a work of monumental significance. But it does mark a new departure. The Negro author has already won acceptance in the field of creative writing. In this volume he breaks new ground, emerges as critic and appraiser of the works of his fellow craftsmen.

Hitherto the appraisal of Negro creative effort has been virtually monopolized by white critics who may be conveniently divided in two groups: the Gee Whizz! variety and the compassionate school. The former are always so astounded to discover any Negro with enough brain power to learn his *a-b-c's* that they instantly conclude that even the simplest poem or short story by a colored author is an eighth wonder of the world. The compassionate critic is inclined to make allowances. Colored authors are often weak, even primitive, on the technical side. The sympathetic critic knows the work before him was produced by an inexperienced writer. He also knows that colored writers have little opportunity to get experience. Feeling that handicapped authors should be encouraged, he writes a thousand words of equivocal comment which could be boiled down to a single sentence of nine words: This is a fairly good job for a Negro.

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Mr. Redding appraises Negro literature from the Negro point of view. Other colored writers have made stabs at the job; a few sentences in a book review, a few paragraphs of preface, usually intended to clarify the specific work in hand. Mr. Redding makes criticism his primary, rather than an incidental, task. His book indicates that Negro literature is passing its adolescence and approaching its majority.

Beginning with Jupiter Hammond and coming down to Sterling Brown, Mr. Redding selects representative authors and interprets the significance of their work in the light of contemporary life and thought of the period in which they wrote. He rates Negro writers by social as well as by literary standards, with emphasis on the social side. There are times, of course, when one disagrees with his judgments, but mainly on grounds of opinion or taste.

One may feel that he is less than fair to Phillis Wheatley. When he picks flaws in Dunbar's theory of dialect, one may disagree with the author and side with Dunbar. Does he bracket Dunbar too low as dialect poet, and lyric poet too? Well, it's difference of opinion that makes horse racing and lively literature.

One can be more positive in disagreement when he dilates on the literary stature of Du Bois. Dr. Du Bois is certainly one of the ablest scholars America has produced, of either race. But as a literary figure he hardly rates as much attention as Mr. Redding gives him in a volume that leans rather far toward the thin side. And how can he include Jean Toomer among his representative authors without mentioning "Box Seat," an almost uncannily clever short story? His selections from Langston Hughes are less than felicitous too. "Cora Unashamed" is certainly a first-rate short story. But why does he overlook the sustained strength of "The Blues I'm Playing" and the poignant "One Christmas Eve"? He also fails to mention "Little Dog," which (at this point the reviewer dives off the deep end) is one of the finest short stories in English.

Mr. Redding might reply, aptly enough, that he was not trying to anticipate the prejudices of every hack who might be assigned to review his book.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS.

The Art of Cézanne, by Albert C. Barnes and Violette de Mazia. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. $5.00. *Letters to Emile Bernard, by Vincent Van Gogh. New York: Museum of Modern Art.* $2.50.

LIKE SAINTE VICTOIRE, that mountain he so loved to paint, Cézanne each year stands out as more and more solitary, immense and all-commanding. Not only the artists testify to this. The great show in the Orangerie three years ago made this clear to that part of the general public which had not yet been convinced, while his supporters were even more impressed than before. New books continue this process. In fact, Miss de Mazia and Mr. Barnes treat him as a veritable old master in this careful, but somewhat severe, study of his life, his painting and his influence.

They concentrate chiefly on technique and its development. He began as an impetuous dramatist. In *Murder,* two criminals are striking down a victim; *Donkey Thieves* is like an episode from Don Quixote; while even the portraits are violent and almost beside themselves. Gradually, the authors point out, he gained command of himself. He still painted dark and clotted canvases, but the excitation was less. Acquaintance with the impressionists—particu-

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larly the calm and beneficent Pissarro—poured light between his passages, so to speak, even as it helped the air to circulate in and around his objects. As the stroke became finer, truer, juster, the sense of organization increased. Sheer power was manifest. The unchanging was given shape. And, like the pyramids of old or the power-houses of today, his work became an expression of the elemental, the disciplined, and the unshakeably stable.

Cézanne's stability, indeed, is the element which the authors emphasize. And it is well that they do so. For despite the fact that the rebels and pioneers of the last thirty-five years have all been influenced by him, his real significance is that he recovered principles of solidity which had been lost since the primitives. In the apt phrase of the authors, these canvases were "quarried from the earth." The 171 illustrations—handsome and well-reproduced—abundantly support them in this. The general reader, of course, may not pause at all the technical dissections of brushstrokes (too often the microscope seems to be in evidence), but he will look at the pictures, and they will tell him enough. The text will always be there if he, like the scholars, cares to use it. In any case, the name of Cézanne will once more advance.

The same may be said for Van Gogh's *Letters to Emile Bernard*. Bernard, a traditional painter, many of whose works are devotional in subject-matter, corresponded with the harassed Dutchman in the years 1887-8, when Van Gogh was rapturously exploring the colors of Provence. The visitor's letters are sun-shot, radiant, intense, just as he was. They have not been available before in English. They therefore fill out new areas in our picture of this tortured, yet fruitful, man. In this they will be enhanced by the delightful cover-slip and the 32 full-page plates.

JEROME MELLQUIST.

Stendhal, by F. C. Green. Cambridge: at the University Press. New York: The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

WHEN on the night of March 22-23, 1842, the malady which Stendhal had been carrying in his blood finally caught up with him and delivered him over to his biographers, these latter were enriched by a first-class subject. Yet because Stendhal was relatively obscure during his lifetime his fame has grown so slowly that this is the first biography of him by an English-speaking writer since 1874, at which time many of the documents on which Professor Green's excellent account is based were unknown. Paul Hazard's "Life," translated from the French, is extremely readable but deals entirely with the life to the exclusion of the letters. For the present biography, which treats Stendhal's writings as integral to the life, the time was extremely ripe.

The book is admirable for a discriminating presentation of Stendhal, which does not dress him up nor try to debunk him, and is interesting because Stendhal himself was interesting. The clumsy provincial becomes under our eyes a superlatively delicate cosmopolitan. We watch the young commissary-officer, one of the shrewdest of Napoleon's admirers, follow the Emperor to Moscow and back, and then, once the dream has faded, settle ultimately into a consulate in the grubby little Italian port of Civitavecchia, in that lethally dull town to write novels of men of action whose virtue is that they live dangerously. And we see the great analyst of human love hopelessly boggle one after another of his own affairs with women. In short, here is Stendhal in all his strange complexity, an appealingly human bundle of paradoxical personalities—among

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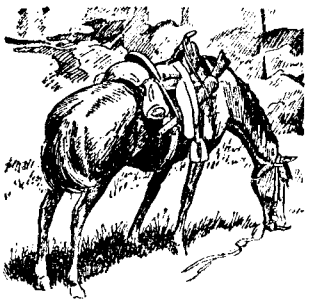

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which are the genius who should have been revered and the naughty child in need of spanking.

The whole is done with taste; the temptation to call in Freud is happily resisted. The author's fine English disdain for plethoric footnotes sometimes leaves us wishing for a bit more specific information. But this is academic carping at a work which is scholarly without being depressingly erudite; sober, intelligent and altogether worth reading.

W. M. FROHOCK.

POETRY

All in One Breath, by David Morton. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

HERE ARE fifty brief lyrics; the voice: deft, pleasant, restrained, practised. David Morton has almost a dozen books of poetry and criticism in his name; you may have heard him occasionally in these very pages. This time he reveals himself to be won over by nature, enchanted by the word, and interested, though not profoundly, in humanity.

Very aptly, the poet finds an analogy for his fastidious art in nature. In the appropriate "Song" he concludes:

> Rising as from the delicate-boned
> And fragile bird,
> So thinly comes so sweetly-toned,
> The lyric word . . .

But he knows the difficulty of controlling "the lean hound of thought"; he is conscious of the power of the wavering word.

With simple, honest enthusiasm for the outdoors, we who are troubled are invited to walk in meadows for a blessing,

> In these intensest days,
> When the eyes and the feet
> Are bent on the grey ways
> Of wall and street . . .

Usually he is content with life as it is; but when he is bewildered, he pleas

> What in the shifting line,
> For us? . . . Bird . . . bird,
> Make us the certain Sign,
> Give us the Word . . .

and does not press his concern further. He guards himself too carefully. If he is deeply aroused, he refuses to share his rapture with us.

But these are lovely lyrics, indeed. What is more, readers will look forward to David Morton's sonnets, which will be published soon, with expectancy.

STEPHEN BALDANZA.

Collected Poems of Robert P. Tristram Coffin. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.00.

IN THE PREFACE to his "Collected Poems," Robert P. Tristram Coffin says, "I have found poems in the light of common days, but I have found them also in the sudden radiance like that on the road to Damascus." One is impressed by the quality of light in every poem in this collection. Robert Coffin is a poet of hope and faith and the simple homely virtues. His lyrics, many of them flawless, sing of his home, his sons, his farm animals; if they stray in theme it is not further afield than to the swallows, the bees, the fireflies and the small creatures of the open

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meadow. His ballads, observed against this lyrical background, take on a strong salty flavor with the rugged masculine speech of the common man. One thinks of Robert Coffin as a kind and wise neighbor whom one would be glad to know; in spirit one can pull up a chair to his fireside and feel at home.

Though both are poets of rural New England, the wide difference between Robert Frost and Robert Coffin is made even more apparent in this collection. Where Frost is austere and intellectual, Coffin is tender and sings from the heart. One can readily guess the character of a poet who employs for God the metaphor of a brooding hen.

In a day when it is fashionable for poets to write in chipped or broken rhyme, or no rhyme at all, of darkness and disaster and revolution, it is a pleasure to come upon the collected works of a poet whose face is toward the light. These poems have significance not only for their fine craftsmanship, but for the joy they engender by striking chords of feeling common to all humanity.

In "A Boy, A Lake, A Sun," for instance, the simplest incident takes on an almost epic dignity:

My little boy, the vast still lake,
And the big low sun
Keep each other company,
Now the day is done.

The child is quiet, and his curls
Are full of evening light,
He sits in utter confidence
On the edge of night.

A little golden bubble cast
Up from eternity,
The sun is just as much his friend
As the evening bee.

He does not know that he is small
Or different or apart,
The sun is not a grander thing
Than a daisy's heart.

But he is pleased to have me come
And moves to let me sit
Beside him and the setting sun,
And I am proud of it.

JESSICA POWERS.

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ONE OF THE most active and most rapidly growing organizations of the Church in the United States is the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which utilizes a number of methods of approaching its objective of spreading the teachings and practise of the doctrines of the Church among the Catholics throughout the land. There are regular weekly catechetical classes for the 2,000,000 Catholic boys and girls in American public schools; religious vacation schools every summer; laymen's study clubs; correspondence courses; home religious instruction and the distribution of Catholic literature. At the fourth National Catechetical Congress held at Hartford last fall it was announced that the Confraternity had been established in 72 American dioceses and 15 archdioceses. The next conference will be held at Cincinnati later on this year.

The Confraternity has also undertaken the publication of a series of "Parent-Educator" textbooks for study-club use. The subject of Volume II, which has just appeared, is "Teaching Prayer in the Home." This is the fruit of the work of parent-educator groups in the Archdioceses of New York and St. Louis. It is divided into parental instructions for pre-school, grade school and high school children and is available at the Confraternity's national center at 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. Volume III, "Teaching Obedience in the Home," is scheduled to appear in the fall.

Regional conferences play an important part in promoting this fruitful work. The first Wisconsin Provincial Catechetical Congress, held at La Crosse, April 27-29, for instance, included among its forty speakers six members of the American hierarchy. Among the principal addresses scheduled there were "Why a Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in Every Parish?" by Archbishop Stritch of Milwaukee, and "The Church Needs an Articulate Laity" by Bishop O'Hara of Kansas City. Included on this program was a demonstration before the delegates of how to run a study club.

The first regional congress of the Confraternity for the Province of New Orleans was being held at the same time at New Orleans, with eight members of the hierarchy in attendance. Titles of the various addresses included, "Work for Everyone in the Confraternity," "A Diversified Seasonal Program," "Training of Adults for Religious Leadership," "Christ the Leader" and "Discussion Clubs for High School Pupils."

The congress also held exhibits of such tangible devices as various book, magazine and pamphlet publications, charts, pictures and other visual aids and religious projects undertaken by various local confraternity groups. The delegates also witnessed a series of classroom demonstrations with young pupils to bring out practical teaching methods and effective use of textbooks.

At the solemn pontifical Mass which opened the New Orleans regional conference, the proper of the Mass was rendered by the Schola Cantorum of Notre Dame Seminary, while 300 high school girls sang the ordinary of the Mass. Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans was the celebrant; Bishop Jeannard of Lafayette preached the sermon.

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